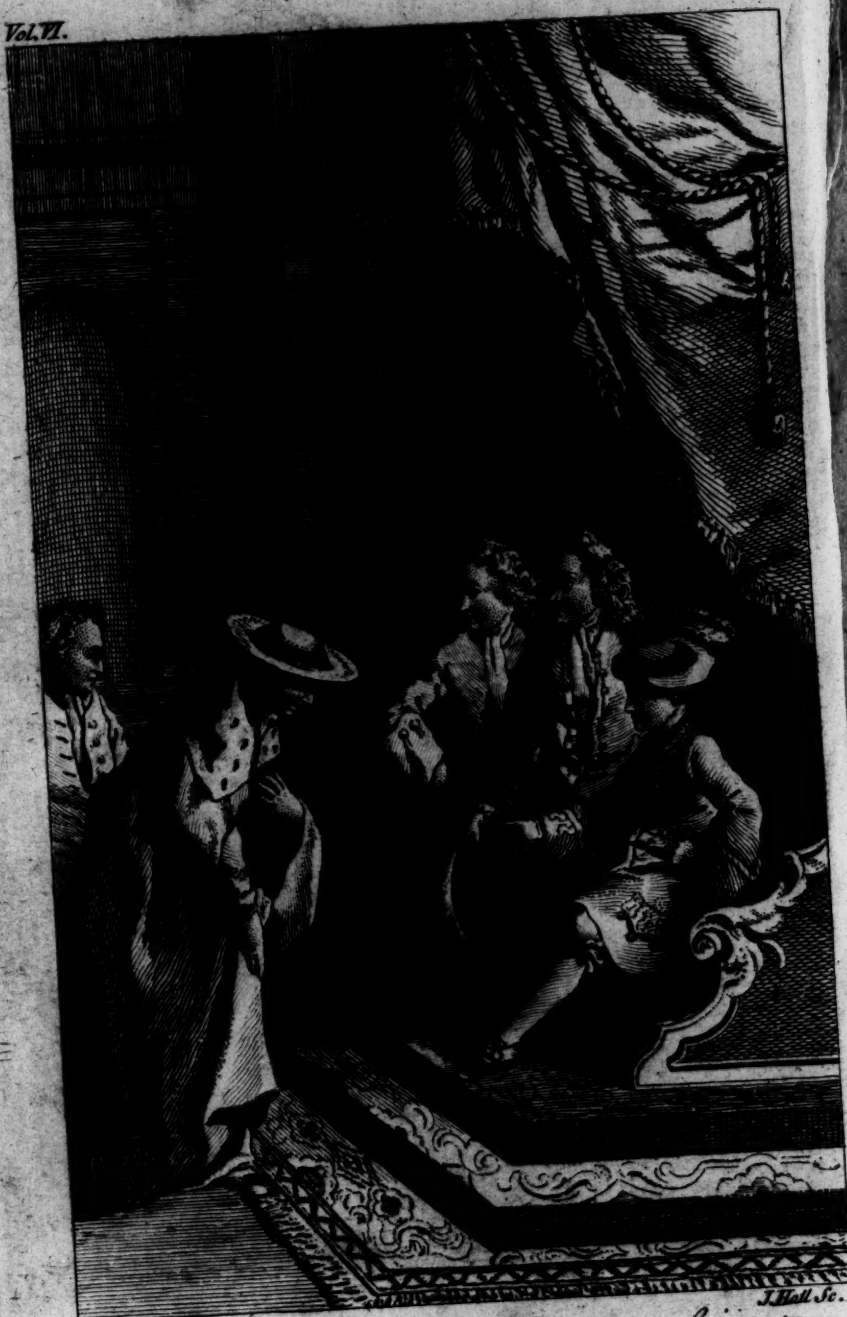




Goussier delin.
Cardinal Chigi, making the Pope's concessions to
Lewis XIV.
J. Hall Sc.

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLET, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

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A N C I E N T
AND
MODERN HISTORY.

C H A P. CLII.

OF ENGLAND, under CHARLES II.

THE second protector, Richard Cromwell, not having the talents of the first, could not have the same fortune. His sceptre was not supported by the sword; and as he wanted the resolution and dissimulation of Oliver, he knew not either how to make himself feared by the army, nor how to manage the different sects and parties which divided the nation.

Richard, finding himself treated with contempt and even insolence by his father's military council, thought to secure his authority by convoking a parliament, consisting of two houses; one of which was formed by the principal officers, representing the peers; and the other of deputies from the counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, representing the three kingdoms; but the leaders of the army soon obliged

him to dissolve this parliament, and of their own authority restored that parliament which had brought king Charles I. to the scaffold, and which Oliver afterwards so disgracefully dismissed. This parliament, which was entirely independent as well as the army, would have neither king nor protector. At its first meeting, the general council of officers presented an address to this assembly of their own making, petitioning, that all cavaliers should be for ever excluded from their employs, and that the office of protector might be taken from Richard Cromwell, whom they however treated with great marks of respect, requiring a pension of twenty thousand pounds sterling to be settled upon him, and eight thousand upon his mother; but the parliament only accommodated him with two thousand pounds*, and sent him an order to leave Whitehall in six days, which he obeyed without murmuring, and ever afterwards led a private life. At that time the names of peers and bishops seemed wholly forgotten. Charles II. appeared abandoned by all the world, as well as Richard Cromwell; and it was thought by all the courts of Europe, that the English commonwealth was firmly established. However, the regal dignity was at length restored by an officer of Cromwell's, called Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, which had conquered that kingdom. The English parliament having formed a design to cashier the officers of that army, Monk, being apprized of their intention, marched directly to

* This is a mistake; they granted him twenty thousand pounds to pay his debts.

England, to try his fortune. The three kingdoms were at that time in a general state of anarchy. Monk had left part of his army in Scotland, but this was not sufficient to keep that nation in subjection. The other part, which marched under his command to England, had the parliament's forces to encounter. The parliament itself, who was equally apprehensive of either army, endeavoured, if possible, to make itself master of both. Here was sufficient cause for renewing all the horror of the civil wars.

Monk, finding himself not sufficiently powerful to succeed to the protectorship, determined to restore the royal family; and instead of shedding blood, he found means to perplex affairs in such a manner by his negotiations, and increased the confusion in the kingdom to such a degree, that the nation of itself began to wish for a king. In a word, the restoration was effected without the least bloodshed. Lambert, one of Cromwell's generals, and a most zealous republican, in vain attempted to renew the war; he was prevented before he could assemble a sufficient number of his veterans, and was defeated and taken prisoner by Monk. A new parliament was now called. The peers, who had so long remained an idle and useless body, now returned to their house, and resumed their functions in the state. Both houses acknowledged Charles II. as their lawful sovereign, and he was accordingly proclaimed king in London.

Charles II. thus invited over to Eng- May 8,
land, without having in the least con- 1660
tributed to this restoration by any
means of his own, and without having been
restricted by any conditions, departed from
Breda,

Breda, the place of his retirement, and arrived in England amidst the shouts and acclamations of all the people ; in a word, it hardly seemed that there had ever been a civil war.

The parliament ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton his son-in-law, and Bradshaw, president of the high court of justice, to be dug out of their graves, and dragged through the streets upon a sledge to the gallows. Of all those concerned in the bloody trial of Charles I. who were yet living, ten only were executed, who all of them suffered without the least signs of repentance, refusing to acknowledge the king's authority, and returning God thanks, who had chosen them to die "For the most glorious and just of all causes." These were most of them either of the obstinate sect of independents, or else Anabaptists, who looked for the second coming of Christ, and the establishment of the fifth monarchy.

There were only nine bishops living at that time in England: the king soon completed the number. The ancient order and discipline was restored both in church and state, and a round of magnificence and pleasures succeeded the gloomy ferocity which had so long taken possession of all minds. Charles introduced an excess of gallantry and diversions into the palace, yet stained with the blood of his father. The independents were no longer heard of. The puritans hid themselves. The spirit of the English nation underwent so total a change, that the late civil war became a subject of ridicule. The austere and gloomy sectaries, who had filled the kingdom with their enthusiastic notions, were now the butts of rail-
I lery

lery to the gay and licentious courtiers. Deism, which the king himself seemed openly to profess, became the reigning religion among the many others then in the kingdom.

The royal society, which had been already formed, but was not established by the king's letters patent till 1661, began to soften the manners, by improving the understanding. The belles lettres were revived, and made daily advances towards perfection. In Cromwell's time all the learning in the nation was confined to the application of a few passages of the Old and New Testaments, to feed the flame of public animosities, and screen the purposes of the blackest revolutions. But now the study of nature and her works was encouraged, and the plan of the famous chancellor Bacon closely pursued. The science of mathematics was in a short time carried to a degree of perfection, that had never entered into the imagination of former adepts. A great man at length investigated the first principles of the general system of the universe, which till then had remained hidden; and while the other nations amused themselves with idle fables, the English found out the most sublime truths. All that the enquiries of past ages had effected in natural philosophy was nothing in comparison with that one discovery of the nature of light. In the space of twenty years, the arts and sciences made the most amazing progress: this is a merit and a glory which will never pass away. The fruits of genius and industry are permanent, while the effects of ambition, fanaticism, and reigning passions, are swallowed up in the times which produced them. The spirit of

the nation acquired immortal reputation under the reign of Charles II. though the administration did not.

The French spirit, which reigned at court, rendered it agreeable and brilliant; but by introducing a change in the manners, it subjected it to the designs of Lewis XIV. and the English government, which was wholly biassed by French money and French councils, made the thinking part of the people regret at times the days of the usurper Cromwell, who had rendered his nation so respectable in the eyes of all Europe.

The parliaments of England and Scotland, after the king's restoration, vied with each other in giving him all the marks of condescension in their power, by way of reparation for the murder of his father. The English parliament in particular, in whose breast it chiefly lay to make him a powerful prince, granted a revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the support of his dignity and administration; exclusive of the sum destined for the support of the navy, which far exceeded any thing that had been granted to queen Elizabeth. Nevertheless, Charles's prodigality made him always in want; and the nation never forgave him the sale of Dunkirk, which Cromwell had acquired for the kingdom by his negotiations and arms, and which Charles parted with for the sum of two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling*.

* D'Estrades, the French minister at the Hague, came over to London, and managed this negotiation. For Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, the French king payed four hundred thousand pounds.

The war which he engaged in against the Dutch at the beginning of his reign, proved not only very burthenfome, as it cost the nation upwards of seven millions and an half sterling, but it was likewise dishonourable*; for admiral Ruyter sailed up as far as Chatham, and burnt all the English ships lying in that harbour.

These miscarriages were intermixed with most terrible calamities. London was ravaged by a plague at the beginning of this reign, and the city almost entirely destroyed by a dreadful fire. This calamity following upon a plague, and in the height of an unsuccessful war with the Dutch, seemed almost irreparable. Nevertheless, to the astonishment of all Europe, London was rebuilt in three years, and arose more beautiful, regular, and commodious, than it had been before. A tax upon coals, and the unwearied industry of the citizens, proved alone sufficient to effect this immense work. This was a mighty example of what mankind are capable of doing, and gave a degree of authenticity to the reports of the ancient cities in Asia and Egypt, which were so quickly rebuilt.

Not all these accidents, these mighty labours, the war of 1672 against the Dutch, nor the cabals with which the court and parliament

* The war was by no means disgraceful: for the Dutch were defeated in a great number of bloody engagements. The burning of a few ships in the river Medway was a reproach upon the administration, which, trusting to the negotiation for peace, had taken no precautions of defence; but it was no disgrace to the nation in general.

were filled, made any diminution in the pleasures and gallantry, which Charles had brought with him into England, and which were the productions of the French climate, where he had resided for several years. A French mistress, French manners, and, above all, French money lorded it at court. Though all things underwent such a change in England, the love of liberty did not change among the people, nor that passion for absolute power which prevailed in the king and his brother, who succeeded him. This proved the source of numberless intrigues and plots, which embittered the general taste for pleasure, and clouded the festivities of the court with sundry executions. Zeal for religion or enthusiastic fury had no share in the effort made by Lord Shaftsbury and several other persons of distinction, to exclude the duke of York from the succession. Lord Shaftsbury was a declared deist. The duke of York was charged with being a papist; but it was only the arbitrary papist they stood in fear of.

Charles II. seems to have been the first king of England who bought the votes of the members of parliament by private pensions, at least in a country where there is hardly any thing secret. This method was never publicly carried on: we have no proof that any of the kings, his predecessors, had fallen on this way to shorten difficulties and prevent opposition.

The second parliament, which assembled in 1679, began by impeaching eighteen members of the house of commons of the preceding parliament, which had sat eighteen years. They were accused of having accepted pensions; but as

as there was no law which prohibited the receiving of gratifications from the sovereign, they could not do any thing against them.

This new system of politics adopted by the court, did not prevent the house of commons from voting unanimously, that the duke of York, as being a professed papist, ought to be excluded from the crown, in like manner as the catholic leaguers in France had pretended to exclude Henry IV. The duke of Monmouth, natural son to Charles II. attempted to play the same part as the duke of Guise, by which he afterwards brought his own head to the block; and the same motives which had engaged the Whigs to exclude the duke of York from the throne, urged them to drive him from thence, after he had ascended it. However, Charles finding that that house which had deposed and murdered his father, now wanted to disinherit his brother in his lifetime; and justly apprehensive of the consequences of such a design in regard to himself, dissolved the parliament, and never called another during his reign.

Every thing was restored to quiet the instant the royal authority and the privilege of parliament ceased to oppose each other. 1681
The king was now reduced to live with economy upon his revenue, and a pension of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was paid him by Lewis XIV. He only kept four thousand soldiers in pay, and he was reproached for keeping this small guard as if it had been a powerful standing army. Before him the kings of England were wont to have only one hundred men for their ordinary guard.

At that time there were only two opposite factions in the kingdom; that of the Tories, who professed a blind submission to the royal authority, and the Whigs, who defended the rights of the people, and were for restricting the sovereign power. The latter of these has almost always had the superiority.

But what has established the power of the English nation is, that all the different parties since the time of Elizabeth have unanimously concurred in encouraging trade. That very parliament which cut off the head of its king, was employed in settling maritime affairs, as if it had been a time of profound peace. The blood of this murdered prince was yet smoking upon the scaffold, when this parliament, which was almost entirely composed of fanatics, passed the famous act of navigation in 1650, which has been falsely attributed to Cromwell, and in which he had no other concern than being highly displeased with it; because this act, which was very prejudicial to the interest of Holland, proved one of the causes of the war between England and that republic; and as the operations of this war would be chiefly by sea, the great expence of the navy might oblige the parliament to lessen the army, of which Cromwell was general. This act has always continued in force. The chief advantage the nation derived from this act was, that it prohibited all nations to import any merchandize into England but what was the produce of the country to which the ships belonged.

As early as the reign of queen Elizabeth the English had an India company, prior to that of the Dutch, and there was also a new one
esta-

established afterwards in king William's reign. From the year 1597 to 1612, the English had the sole possession of the whale fishery; but their greatest riches lay in their flocks. At first they only knew how to sell their wool; but since Elizabeth's time they have manufactured the finest cloths in Europe. Agriculture, which was for a long time neglected, is now better than the mines of Peru to them. The culture of lands was chiefly encouraged by the act of parliament in 1689, for the exportation of grain; and since that time the government has always allowed a bounty of five shillings for every measure of wheat exported to foreign markets, when such measure, which contains twenty-four of our Paris bushels, shall not be worth more than two livres eight sous sterling in London. The exportation of all other kinds of grain have been encouraged in like proportion; and not long since it was proved in parliament, that the exportation of grain brought the kingdom in four years time the sum of one hundred and seventy millions three hundred and thirty thousand French livres.

England had not all these great resources in Charles II's time: it was still indebted to the industry of France, to whom it paid upwards of eight millions every year upon the balance of trade. The English had no manufactories for cloth, plate glass, copper, brass, steel, paper, or even hats. It was to the revocation of the edict of Nantz that they were indebted for almost all these new and important branches of trade.

By this single circumstance we may judge how far the flatterers of Lewis XIV. were

in praising him for thus depriving France of so many useful subjects. Accordingly in 1687, the English government, sensible of the advantage it should gain by granting an asylum and support to the French artificers, made a collection for them amounting to fifteen hundred thousand francs, and maintained thirteen thousand of these new subjects in the city of London for one whole year.

This attention to commerce in a warlike nation, has in the end enabled it to pay subsidies to one half of Europe against the French; and within our knowledge its credit has increased to such a degree without any augmentation in its funds, that the government debt to private persons has some years amounted to upwards of seventy millions of our money. This is precisely the situation of the kingdom of France at present, where the government owes nearly the same yearly sum in the king's name to the annuitants and purchasers of public employs. This expedient which is unknown to many other nations, especially to the Asiatics, is the melancholy fruits of our wars, and the last effort of political industry.

C H A P. CLIII.

Of ITALY, and chiefly of ROME, at the
End of the sixteenth Century. Of the
Council of TRENT. Of the Correction
of the Calendar, &c.

WHILE France and Germany, almost subverted at the end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth century, lay languishing without trade, deprived of arts and police, and plunged in anarchy; the Italians, in general, began to taste the sweets of repose, and vyed with each other in cultivating the liberal arts, which were either unknown to other nations, or practised by them in a rude manner. Naples and Sicily were free from revolutions, and wholly undisturbed. When pope Paul IV. at the instigation of his nephews, undertook to deprive Philip II. of these two kingdoms, by the arms of the French king Henry II. he pretended to make them over to the duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. in consideration of the payment of twenty thousand gold ducats *per ann.* in room of the former annual tribute of six thousand, and on the especial condition that his nephew should enjoy certain very considerable and independent principalities in those kingdoms.

This was at that time the only tributary kingdom in the world. It was pretended that the court of Rome determined it should be no longer so, and proposed to annex it to the papal see, which would have given the popes such a degree of weight and authority, as would have

have made them masters of the balance of power in Italy: but it was impossible that pope Paul IV. or all Italy together, could take Naples from Philip II. and afterwards from the king of France, and thus strip the two most powerful monarchs of Christendom. This was only an unhappy rash project in pope Paul, who was insulted at his first setting out by the famous duke of Alva, at that time viceroy of Naples, who ordered all the bells and other brass work in Benevento, which belonged to the holy see, to be melted down and cast into cannon. This war was finished almost as soon as it was begun. The duke of Alva flattered himself with the hope of taking Rome, as Charles V. had done; but at the end of a few months he went thither to kiss the pontiff's feet, restored the bells of Benevento, and all was quiet.

1560 A shocking scene was exhibited after the death of pope Paul IV. by the condemnation of his two nephews, the prince of Paliano, and cardinal Caraffa; and the sacred college could not, without horror, behold the death of this cardinal, who was strangled by the orders of pope Pius IV. * as cardinal Poli had

* The two brothers, the cardinal and the duke de Paliano, were condemned and strangled for having abused the authority of their uncle, and exercised all manner of acts of tyranny and oppression; in particular for having caused the duke's wife Violante Dias Carlonna, to be put to death without form of trial, on pretence of adultery, when she was big with child. She was barbarously strangled by her own brother, the count d'Aliffe and Leonard Cardini, who likewise suffered death for their barbarity, under the pontificate of Pius IV.

been by those of Leo X. but one act of cruelty does not make a cruel reign, and the Roman nation was not oppressed.

The council of Trent was closed under the pontificate of Pius IV. in a peace-¹⁵⁶³able manner, without having produced any new effects either among the catholics, who held all the articles of faith taught by that council, nor among the protestants, who rejected them: it made no change in the customs of those catholic nations who adopted certain rules of discipline different from those of the council. France in particular retained what are called the liberties of the Gallican church, which are in effect the liberties of the nation. Twenty-four articles of this council, which were repugnant to the rights of the civil jurisdiction, were never admitted in that kingdom: by these articles the superintendance of all hospitals was vested in the bishops only. The pope alone was to give sentence in criminal causes on the bishops, and the laity were in several cases made subject to the episcopal jurisdiction. These were the reasons why the French government rejected the discipline established by the council. The kings of Spain received it into their dominions with the greatest respect, but at the same time with considerable private modifications. Venice followed the example of Spain. The Roman catholics of Germany insisted upon the use of the consecrated cup, and that priests should be allowed to marry. Pope Pius IV. by his briefs to the emperor Maximilian II. and the archbishop of Mentz allowed the communicating in both kinds; but remained inflexible in the article
of

of the marriage of the priests. The history of the popes gives us for a reason, that Pius, having got rid of the council, had nothing more to fear: hence it came, adds the writer of this history, that this pope, who made no scruple of violating all laws divine and human, was so strict with regard to celibacy. It is very false to say that Pius IV. violated all laws divine and human; and it is very evident that by preserving the ancient discipline of sacerdotal celibacy, which had been so long established in the West, he acted in conformity with an opinion which was become a law in that church.

All the other customs of church discipline peculiar to Germany remained on their original foundation. The disputes prejudicial to the secular power no longer raised those wars they had formerly done: there were still some few difficulties, some intricate points between the church of Rome and the Roman catholic states; but these little disputes did not cost any bloodshed. The interdict which pope Paul V. laid upon the republic of Venice, was the only considerable quarrel which happened afterwards. The religious wars in France and Germany found them other employments; and the court of Rome usually kept fair with the Roman catholic princes, for fear they should turn protestants: but wretched was the fate of those weak princes, who had such a powerful monarch as Philip to oppose, who was master in the conclave.

Italy was deficient in respect to general police; this was its real scourge. Surrounded by the arts, and in the very bosom of peace, it had been a long time infested with public robbers,
like

like ancient Greece in the more barbarous times. Whole troops of armed banditti marauded from one province to another, from the frontiers of Milan to the farther end of the kingdom of Naples, either purchasing the protection of the petty princes, or obliging them to wink at their rapines. The papal see could not clear its dominions of them, till the time of Sixtus V. and even after his pontificate they appeared sometimes. The example of these freebooters encouraged private persons to put in practice the shocking custom of assassination: the use of the stiletto was but too common in towns, while the country was over-run by the banditti. The students of Padua used to knock people on the head as they were passing under the piazzas, which run along each side of the street.

Notwithstanding these disorders, which were but too common, Italy was the most flourishing country in Europe, if it was not the most powerful. Those foreign wars were no longer heard of which had filled it with desolation after the reign of Charles VIII. nor the intestine commotions which had armed principality against principality, and town against town: nor those conspiracies which had formerly been so frequent. Naples, Venice, Rome, and Florence, attracted the admiration of foreigners, by their magnificence and encouragement of all the arts. The more refined pleasures were truly known only to this climate, and religion presented itself to the people under that specious dress which is so necessary for nice imaginations. Italy alone abounded with temples worthy of the ancient gran-

grandeur, and they were all surpassed by St. Peter's at Rome.

If superstitious ceremonies, false traditions, and feigned miracles still prevailed among these people, the wise despised them, who well knew that errors have in all times been the amusement of the vulgar. Perhaps our northern writers, who have exclaimed so violently against these erroneous customs, have not rightly distinguished between the people and those by whom they are led. Certainly no one would entertain a contemptible idea of the ancient Roman senate, because the temples of Esculapius were lined with the offerings of those whom nature cured of their maladies; because a thousand votive tablets of travellers escaped from shipwreck, adorned or rather disfigured the altars of the God Neptune; and that in Egnatia the incense burnt and smoaked of its own accord on the holy stone. Many a protestant, after having tasted the delights of a residence at Naples, has, at his return, exhausted himself in invectives against the three miracles which are performed on certain appointed days in that city, when the blood of St. Januarius, St. John the Baptist, and St Stephen, which is kept in bottles, liquefies on approaching the heads of these saints. They accuse the chiefs of those churches with ascribing these idle miracles to the Deity. The wise and prudent Addison says, that he never saw "A more blundering trick." All these writers might have observed that these institutions have no bad effects upon the morals of the people, which ought to be the principal concern of every government, civil and ecclesiastical; that in all
pro-

probability the warm imaginations of the natives of those hot climates stand in need of visible signs to convince them that they are continually under the immediate hand of Providence; and lastly, they should consider that these signs cannot be laid aside till they are fallen into contempt with those who now hold them in so much reverence.

To pope Pius IV. succeeded the Dominican Gisleri, who took the name of Pius V. and was so hated even in Rome itself for the rigorous manner in which he enforced the exercise of the inquisitorial jurisdiction, which was in all other places so strenuously opposed by the secular courts. The famous bull in *Cœnâ Domini*, that first appeared under pope Paul III. and was afterwards published by this Pius V. and in which the prerogative of crowned heads was insulted, disgusted every court, and was much censured by the universities.

The extinction of the order of the Humiliati was one of the principal events of his pontificate. The monks of this order, which was chiefly established in the dutchy of Milan, led very scandalous lives. St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, endeavoured to work a reformation in them, upon which four of them entered into a conspiracy against his life; one of them fired upon him with a musket as he was at prayers in his own house, but wounded him only slightly. The good man interceded with the pope in their behalf; but his holiness punished their crime with death, and abolished the whole order.

Pius V. immortalized his memory by his vigorous defence of Christianity against the
Turks.

Turks. His greatest eulogium was made in Constantinople itself, where they ordered public rejoicings on account of his death*.

Gregory XIII. of the family of Buoncampagno, succeeded Pius V. and rendered his name famous to posterity by the correction of the calendar, which is called after him; in which he imitated Julius Cæsar. The continual need there was of correcting the year in all nations shews the slow progress of the useful arts. Mankind had found the way to ravage the world from one end to the other, before they knew how to compute time or regulate their days. The ancient Romans had only ten lunar months at first, and their year consisted of no more than three hundred and four days, and afterwards of three hundred and fifty-five. The attempts to remedy this false computation were so many errors. All the high priests from the time of Numa Pompilius, were the astronomers of their nation, as they were likewise among the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Persians, and almost all the Asiatics. Their knowledge of time rendered them more venerable to the people; for nothing gives a greater degree of authority than the knowledge of useful things, which are unknown to the vulgar.

As the pontifical dignity among the Romans was always vested in a senator, Julius Cæsar, in quality of high-priest, corrected the calendar so far as he was able; in which he had recourse to the assistance of Sosigenes, a Greek

* The gallies furnished by this pontiff had a considerable share in the victory of Lepanto.

mathematician of Alexandria, which city had been made the centre of sciences and commerce by Alexander the Great: it was the most famous school for the mathematics in those times; and thence the Egyptians, and even the Hebrews themselves, had learnt great part of their useful knowledge. The Egyptians knew before how to raise enormous masses of stone; but the Greeks taught them all the polite arts, or rather practised them amongst them without ever being able to form pupils. In fact, we do not find any one person of this slavish and effeminate nation distinguished for the Grecian arts.

The christian pontiffs had the regulating of the year as well as the pontiffs of ancient Rome because it was their province to fix the time, for observing the festivals. The first council of Nice, held in the year 325, observing the confusion introduced by time into the Julian calendar, consulted, as Cæsar had done, the Greeks of Alexandria, who returned for answer, that the vernal or spring equinox happened in that year on the twenty-first day of March; the fathers then regulated the time for the celebrating the feast of Easter according to that principle.

Two very slight mistakes in Cæsar's computation, and that of the astronomers consulted by this council, increased considerably in a number of ages. The first of these mistakes happens from the famous golden number of Meton the Athenian, which allows nineteen years for the revolution which the moon makes in returning to the same point in the heavens: there wanted only an hour and a half, an error almost

most imperceptible in one century, but which in a succession of ages became very considerable. The same may happen with regard to the sun's apparent course, and the points which determine the equinox and solstices. The vernal or spring equinox, which at the time of the council of Nice happened on the twenty-first day of March, had gained an advance of ten days, and happened the eleventh of the same month. This precession of the equinoxes, the cause of which was unknown to all the ancients, and was not discovered till of late years, is occasioned by a particular motion in the earth, which motion is completed in the space of twenty-five thousand nine hundred years, and occasions the equinoxes and solstices to pass successively through all the points of the zodiac. This motion is the effect of gravity, of which Newton alone has discovered and calculated the phænomena, which seemed beyond the reach of human understanding.

In the time of Gregory XIII. they never troubled themselves about guessing at the cause of this precession of the equinoxes ; the question was to remedy the error which began to make a sensible confusion in the civil year. Gregory on this occasion consulted all the famous astronomers of Europe. A physician named Lilio*,
a na-

* Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, is celebrated by the historian Thuanus, as a person perfectly well acquainted with the Greek and Roman languages, with the belles lettres, and ancient history. He says he was a domestic of cardinal Rangoni when Rome was taken and pillaged by the troops of the emperor Charles V. on which occasion he was plundered of all his effects, including his library. He lived in
great

a native of Rome, had the honour of furnishing the most simple and easy method for restoring the order of the year, such as we now see it in the new Calendar. It was only to take ten days from that year (1582,) and by this easy precaution to prevent any disorder in the ages to come. This Lilio has since been forgotten, and the calendar bears the name of pope Gregory, in like manner as Sosigenes's name was lost in that of Cæsar. It was not thus among the ancient Greeks: with them every artist enjoyed the honour of his own invention.

It is however to the honour of Gregory that he was indefatigable in establishing this necessary correction; for he met with more difficulty in getting it received in other nations, than in having it settled by the mathematicians. France held out for some months; till, at last upon an edict issued by Henry III. and registered by the parliament of Paris, they began to reckon as they ought. But the emperor Maximilian II. could not persuade the diet of Augsburg that the equinox was advanced ten days. It was feared that the court of Rome, in taking upon it to instruct other nations, would pretend to a right of governing them. Thus the old calendar continued to be used for some time even by the

great poverty to extreme old age. He invented the thirty epact numbers, denoting the excess of the common solar year above the lunar, and discovering the age of the moon every year. He composed a treatise for the reformation of the kalendar, which his brother Lilio Antonio Giraldi presented to pope Gregory XIII. and his scheme was embraced, after having been communicated to all the princes of Christendom, and approved by the most learned universities of Europe.

catholic states of Germany. The protestants of all communions have obstinately refused to admit a truth coming from the pope, which ought to have been embraced, had it been proposed by the Turks.

The latter part of Gregory XIII's pontificate was famous by the embassy of submission which he received from Japan. Rome extended its spiritual conquests to the farther end of the globe, while it suffered losses at home. Three kings or princes of Japan, which was at that time divided into several sovereignties, sent each one of their nearest relations to compliment Philip II. king of Spain, as the most powerful of all christian kings, and the pope as the father of all kings. The letters written by the princes to the pope, began all with an act of adoration. The first, which was from the king of Bungo began, "To the adorable, who holds the place of the king of heaven upon earth;" and ended with these words: "I address your holiness with reverence and awe, whom I adore, and whose most holy feet I kiss." The other two were nearly in the same stile. Spain at that time was in hope that Japan would become one of its provinces; and the holy see already beheld one third of that vast empire subject to its ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The people of Rome would have been very happy under Gregory's government, had not the public tranquility been troubled by banditti. He abolished some grievous imposts, and did not dismember the state to provide for his bastard, as some of his predecessors had done.

C H A P. CLIV.

Of Pope SIXTUS V.

THE pontificate of Sixtus V. is more famous in history than those of Gregory XIII. and Pius V. though these two pontiffs performed greater things; the one having signalized himself by the battle of Lepanto, of which he was the principal cause, and the other by his correction of time.

It sometimes happens that one man, by his character and the singularity of his elevation, shall attract the regard of posterity more than others by the most memorable actions. The great disproportion which appeared between the birth of Sixtus V. who was the son of a poor day-labourer, and his elevation to the supreme pontificate, adds a double lustre to his reputation: however, we have already observed, that meanness or obscurity of birth was never looked upon as an obstacle to this dignity by a religion and a court where merit is entitled to employments of every rank, notwithstanding they may sometimes be the rewards of intrigue and cabal. Pius V. was of a mean origin; Adrian VI. was the son of an artificer; Nicholas V. was obscurely born; the father of the famous John XXII. who added a third circle to the tiara, and wore three crowns without possessing a foot of land, was a cobbler at Cahors; as was likewise the father of pope Urban. Adrian IV. one of the greatest of the pontiffs, was the son of a beggar, and followed that profession himself.

self. The history of the church is filled with instances of this nature, to the encouragement of private virtue and the confusion of human pride. Those who have endeavoured to exalt the birth of Sixtus V. do not consider that in so doing they lessen his personal merit, by taking from him the praise of having overcome the first obstacles. There is a greater distance between a swineherd, which he was in his childhood, and the lowest places he held in his orders, than between that place and the papal throne. Memoirs of his life have been composed at Rome from journals, which furnish little more than dates, and from panegyrics, which inform us of nothing at all. The Cordelier who has written the life of Sixtus V. begins by saying, that "he has the honour to treat of the noblest, best, and greatest of all pontiffs, princes, and philosophers, the glorious and immortal Sixtus:" and by this very beginning destroys all credit in himself.

The spirit of Sixtus V. and of his reign is the essential part of his history: what particularly distinguishes him from other popes is, that he never acted in any respect like others. The behaving in the most haughty, and even oppressive manner, while he was a private monk; the subduing the heat of his temper, as soon as he was made a cardinal; the appearing for the space of fifteen years incapable of all kind of public business, especially that of commanding as a superior, in order to determine one day in his favour the suffrages of all those who thought to govern under his name; the resuming all his pride the instant he ascended the throne; the unheard-of severity he exercised

sed in his pontificate, and the nobleness of his undertakings; the embellishing the city of Rome, and leaving the Roman treasury immensely rich at his decease; the disbanding the troops, and even the body-guards of his predecessors, and dispersing the numerous banditti, by the sole power of his laws; and the making himself feared by every one, by his place and character; were actions that made his name illustrious, even among the illustrious ones of Henry IV. and Elizabeth, his contemporaries. Other sovereigns at that time ran the hazard of losing their thrones, by engaging in any undertaking without the assistance of the numerous armies which they afterwards kept on foot. It was not thus with the sovereigns of Rome, who, by uniting the priestly with the kingly dignity, did not even stand in need of a guard.

Sixtus V. raised a great reputation by the improvements he made in the buildings and police of the city of Rome; Henry IV. had done the same in that of Paris: but this was the least of Henry's merits, whereas it was the principal one of Sixtus V. and we find that this pope executed greater things in this way than the French monarch. He ruled over a peaceable, and at that time a very industrious people; he found amidst the ruins, and in the example of ancient Rome, and also in the labours of his predecessors, every thing he could wish to further his great designs.

In the time of the Roman Cæsars, fourteen immense aqueducts supported upon arches, conveyed whole rivers to Venice, for the length of several miles, and supplied an hundred and fifty

fountains and one hundred and eighteen public baths in that city with water, besides what went to form those artificial seas, on which they represented naval combats. An hundred thousand statues adorned the public squares, highways, temples, and houses. Ninety-six colossus's all raised on porticos, and forty-eight obelisks of granate, cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, filled the beholder with amazement, and puzzled the imagination to conceive how such immense masses could have been transported from the tropic to the banks of the Tyber. There remained a few of these aqueducts to be restored by the popes; some obelisks to raise, which were buried under ruins, and some statues to dig up.

Sixtus V. restored the fountain of Martia, whose spring is near the ancient Præneste, twenty miles distant from Rome, and brought it over an aqueduct thirteen thousand paces in length, for which it was necessary to raise arches upon a road seven miles long. This, which would have been a trifling work for the Roman empire, was a great deal for modern Rome in its poor and circumscribed state.

By his care five of the ancient obelisks were raised. The name of the architect Fontana, who raised them, is still famous at Rome; while the artists who cut them, and those who transported them to so great a distance, are no longer known. We read in some travellers, and in an hundred writers who have copied after them, that when the Vatican obelisk was raising upon its pedestal, the ropes used for that purpose were found too short, upon which, notwithstanding it had been expressly prohibited,

ed, under pain of death, for any one to speak during the operation, one of the common people cried out, "Wet the ropes *." These idle tales, which make history ridiculous, are the effects of ignorance. The capstans which they made use of on this occasion, left no room for having recourse to so trifling an assistance.

The work which gave modern Rome some degree of superiority over the ancient, was the cupola of St. Peter's church. There were but three monuments of this kind remaining in the world; namely, part of the dome of the temple of Minerva at Athens, that of the Pantheon at Rome, and of the great mosque at Constantinople, formerly the church of St. Sophia, built by Justinian: but these domes, though sufficiently lofty within, were too flat and low on the outside. Bruneleschi, who restored architecture in Italy, in the 14th century, had, by an effort of art, remedied this defect in the cathedral of Florence, by raising two cupolas one upon the other: but these cupolas had still something of the Gothic in them, and wanted the grand proportions. Michael Angelo Buonarota, who was a painter, sculptor, and ar-

* This is the very reverse of what ought to have been done, had the ropes been actually too short: for a cord is shortened by being moistened with water. The complication of mechanical powers used in the elevation of this obelisk, not permitting a further immediate extension, when it still wanted something of being raised to a perpendicular, it is said that the engineer caused the ropes to be wetted, by which means they were suddenly contracted, so as to set the obelisk upright. This is a very common experiment in natural philosophy.

chitect, and equally great in all three branches, had, as early as the pontificate of Julius II. given the designs of the two domes of St. Peter's; and Sixtus V. caused this work, which exceeds all of its kind, to be built in the space of twenty-two months.

The library, which was first set on foot by pope Nicholas V. was so considerably augmented by Sixtus, that he might very well pass for the true founder. The immense pile of building which contains the books, is itself a beautiful monument. There was not at that time the equal of this library in Europe, either for the largeness or curiosity of the collection: but the city of Paris has greatly excelled Rome in this respect; and though the king's library at Paris is not to be compared to the Vatican, in regard to the architecture, there is a much greater number of books, they are disposed in better order, and strangers can much more easily have the reading of them.

It was the misfortune of Sixtus V. and his dominions, that he impoverished his subjects by all these great foundations, whereas Henry IV. eased his of their load. Both of them left nearly the same sum in ready money in the public treasury at their deaths; for although Henry IV. had forty millions in reserve, which he could dispose of as he pleased, there was not above twenty in the vaults of the Bastile; whereas the five millions of gold crowns deposited by Sixtus V. in the castle of St. Angelo, amounted to very near twenty millions of our livres at that time. Such a sum could not be taken out of the circulation, in a state almost wholly void of manufactures and commerce,
such

such as Rome is, without impoverishing the inhabitants: and to amass this treasure, and supply all other expences, Sixtus was obliged to give a greater latitude to the sale of public employs, than either Sixtus IV. or Julius II. his predecessors. Leo X. began this practice, Sixtus aggravated the burthen. He raised annuities at eight, nine, and ten per cent. for the payment of which an addition was made to the taxes. The people forgot that he was embellishing Rome, and only felt that he was impoverishing them; so that this pontiff was more hated than he was admired.

We should always consider the popes in two points of view, as sovereigns of a state, and as the heads of the church. Sixtus V. in quality of chief pontiff, wanted to revive the times of Gregory VII. He declared Henry IV. at that time king of Navarre, incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. He deprived queen Elizabeth of her kingdoms by a bull, and, had Philip's invincible armada landed in England, the bull might have been carried into execution. The manner in which he behaved towards Henry III. after the murder of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal his brother, was not quite so violent. He contented himself with only declaring him excommunicated, unless he did penance for those two murders. This was imitating St. Ambrose; and acting like Adrian IV. who required Henry II. of England to do public penance for the murder of Becket, afterwards canonized under the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The French king, Henry III. had just caused two princes to be murdered in his own palace; they were dangerous subjects indeed,

indeed, but they had not been allowed a trial; and it would even have been a very difficult matter to have regularly convicted them of any absolute crime. They were the leaders of a fatal league, but a league which the king himself had signed. All the circumstances of this two-fold assassination were truly horrible; and without entering upon such excuses as might be alledged from the politics and unhappy situation of affairs in those times, the safety of human kind seemed to require that a curb should be put to such violences. Sixtus lost the fruit of his austere and inflexible behaviour, by supporting only the rights of the triple crown and the sacred college, and not those of humanity; and by not censuring the murder of the duke of Guise so strongly as that of the cardinal; by insisting only on the pretended immunity of the church, and the right claimed by the popes of trying the cardinals; by ordering the king of France to release the cardinal of Bourbon and the archbishop of Lyons, whom he detained prisoners from the strongest reasons of state; and lastly, by commanding him to repair within sixty days to Rome, to expiate his offence. It is undoubtedly true, that Sixtus, as head of all Christians, might say to a christian prince, "Clear yourself before God of this two-fold homicide:" but he had not power to say to him, "It belongs to me alone to try your ecclesiastical subjects; it belongs to me to try you in my court."

This pope seemed still less to preserve the greatness and impartiality of his office, when after the murder of Henry III. by the monk James Clement, he delivered himself in these
very

very words, in a speech which he made to the cardinals, which has been faithfully transmitted by the secretary of the consistory.

“ This death, which occasions so much surprise and admiration, will hardly be credited by posterity. A powerful king surrounded by a numerous army, who had compelled the city of Paris to sue to him for mercy, is slain by a single stroke of a knife, by a poor monk. Certainly this great example has been given, in order that every one might know the power of God’s judgments.”

Sixtus was right in refusing the empty honours of a funeral service to Henry III. whom he considered as excluded from the benefit of prayers. Accordingly he said in the same consistory, “ I owe them to the king of France; but not to Henry of Valois, who died impenitent.”

All things yield to interest: this very pope, who had so proudly deprived Elizabeth and the king of Navarre of their kingdoms; who had signified to king Henry III. that he expected him at Rome to answer for his conduct, within sixty days; or else that he would excommunicate him, refused after all to join with the league and the king of Spain against Henry IV. though at that time a heretic. He was sensible that if Philip II. succeeded, this prince, master of France, Milan, and Naples, would quickly become master likewise of the papal see, and of all Italy. Sixtus, then, did what every prudent man would have done in his place; he chose rather to expose himself to all Philip’s resentment, than to ruin himself by lending a hand to ruin Henry.

He died in this state of uncertainty, not daring to succour Henry, and fearing Philip. The people of Rome, who groaned beneath the weight of taxes, and who hated so oppressive and cruel an administration, grew outrageous upon the death of Sixtus, and were with great difficulty restrained from disturbing the funeral ceremony, and tearing to pieces the person whom they had adored on their knees. The riches he left behind him were squandered away within less than a year after his death, like those of Henry IV. a common consequence, which sufficiently evinces the vanity of all human designs.



C H A P. CLV.

Of the Successors of SIXTUS V.

WE may see how much men are governed by education, country, and prejudices of every kind. Gregory XIV. a native of Milan, and a subject of the king of Spain, was governed by the Spanish faction, whom Sixtus, a native of Rome, had always opposed. This pope sacrificed every thing to Philip II. An army of Italians was raised to carry desolation into France, with the very money which Sixtus had amassed in order to defend Italy; and this army being beaten and dispersed, Gregory had nothing left but the shame of having impoverished himself for Philip II. and being tyrannized over by him.

Clement

Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini) a Florentine, behaved with more spirit and address; he knew very well that it was the interest of the papal see to hold, as much as possible, the ballance of power between France and the house of Austria. This pope added the dutchy of Ferrara to the ecclesiastical demesnes. This was another effect of those feudal laws, so intricate and so contested, and an evident consequence of the weakness of the empire. The countess Matilda, of whom we have so largely treated in the foregoing part of this work, had given the popes Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, together with several other lands. The emperors always disputed the donation of these demesnes, which were fiefs to the crown of Lombardy. They became, in spite of the empire, fiefs to the papal see; as well as Naples, which was also held of the popes, after it had been held of the emperors. It is but of late years that Modena and Reggio have been formerly declared Imperial fiefs: but ever since the time of Gregory VII. they, as well as Ferrara, had been dependent on the see of Rome; and the house of Modena, which had been formerly proprietor of these lands, only held them by the title of vicars to the holy see. The courts of Vienna and the Imperial diets in vain pretended to be lords paramount. Clement VIII. took Ferrara from the house of Este, and what might have occasioned a violent war, produced nothing but protests. Since that time Ferrara has been almost a desert.

This pope performed the ceremony of giving absolution and discipline to Henry IV. in the persons of the cardinals du Perron and Ossat;

1595 but it was evident how much the see of Rome stood in awe of Philip II. by the management and artifices which pope Clement made use of to bring about Henry's reconciliation to the church. This prince had solemnly abjured the reformed religion; and yet two thirds of the cardinals in the consistory refused to grant him absolution. His ambassadors could with great difficulty prevent the pope from making use of this formulary, "We restore Henry to his royalty." The pope's ministry would gladly have acknowledged Henry as king of France, and have opposed this prince to the house of Austria; but at the same time it supported, as far as it was able, its ancient pretension to dispose of kingdoms.

Under Paul V. (Borghese) the old quarrel was revived about the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which had formerly cost so much blood. The senate of Venice prohibited any new donations to be made to churches, without the concurrence of the state; in particular, the alienations of landed estates in favour of monks. It likewise thought it had a right of arresting and trying a canon of Vicenza, and an abbot of Nervesa, who had been convicted of extortion and murder.

The pope wrote to the republic, that the sentence and imprisonment of the two ecclesiastics was an injury offered to God's honour, and required that the decree of the senate should be delivered to his nuncio, together with the persons of the two culprits, who could be tried only by the Roman courts.

Paul V. who, but a little time before, had obliged the republic of Genoa to submit on a like

like occasion, thought to meet with the same pliability in that of Venice. The senate sent an extraordinary ambassador to defend its privileges. Paul answered the ambassador, that neither the arguments nor the privileges of the Venetians were of any consequence, and that they must obey. The senate would not obey. Upon which the doge and senators were all excommunicated, and the whole state laid under an interdict; that is to say, the clergy were prohibited, under pain of eternal damnation, to say mass, celebrate divine service, administer the sacraments, or give their assistance in burying the dead. This was the manner in which Gregory VII. and his successors had treated several emperors, being sure at that time that the people would rather abandon their emperors than their churches; and depending upon having some potentate ready to invade the dominions of those who were excommunicated. But the times were now changed. Paul V. by this violent procedure, ran the risk of not being obeyed, and of urging the Venetians to shut up their churches, and renounce the Roman catholic religion. They might easily have embraced either the Greek, the Lutheran, or the Calvinistical faith; and there was actually a motion made to separate from the pope's communion. But the change could not have been effected without some trouble; of which the king of Spain might have made advantage. The senate contented itself with prohibiting the reading of the mandate throughout its territories. The chief vicar of the bishopric of Padua, when this prohibition was signified unto him, made an-
swer

swer to the Podesta, that he would act as God inspired him: but the Podesta replying, that God had inspired the council of ten to order every one to be hanged who should disobey their injunction, the interdict was not published in any place; and the court of Rome was very glad to let the Venetians continue in the profession of the catholic religion, in despite of her authority.

There were only a few of the religious orders who obeyed the pope's mandate. The Jesuits would not be the first to set the example, and therefore sent a deputation from their body to the general assembly of the Capuchins, who told those fathers, that "the eyes of the whole universe were fixed upon the Capuchins in this great affair, and waited for their example to know how to act." The Capuchins, without hesitation, shut up their churches. The Jesuits and the Theatins did the same: upon which the senate shipped them all off for Rome, and the Jesuits in particular were banished the state for ever.

The king of Spain stirred up the pope against the Venetians, and Henry IV. declared in their favour. The cities of Verona, Padua, Bergamo, and Brescia, took up arms; and the republic raised four thousand soldiers in France. The pope on his side ordered four thousand Corsicans and some catholic Swiss to be raised. This little army was to be commanded by cardinal Borghese. The Turks gave public thanks to God for this misunderstanding between the pope and the Venetians. Henry IV. had the honour, as I have already mentioned, of being the arbiter in this difference, and of excluding Philip from

from the mediation. Paul V. had the mortification of not being able even to get the accommodation concluded at Rome. Cardinal de Joyeuse, who was sent envoy to Venice by the king of France, revoked, in the pope's name, the sentence of excommunication and interdiction. The pope, thus abandoned by Spain, behaved with greater moderation, and the Jesuits continued banished from the republic for upwards of fifty years; till at length they were recalled in 1657, at the instance of pope Alexander VII. but they have never been able to re-establish their credit there.

Paul V. from that time would never make any decision which could call his authority in question. He was in vain importuned upon the article of faith, concerning the immaculate conception of the holy virgin: he contented himself with forbidding any one to teach the contrary in public, that he might not give offence to the Dominicans, who pretend that she was conceived like others in original sin. The Dominicans were at that time very powerful both in Spain and Italy.

This pontiff applied himself to the embellishment of Rome, and collecting the best performances in sculpture and painting. Rome is indebted to him for its finest fountains, particularly that which throws its waters out of an antique vase, taken from the baths of Vespasian, and that which is called the *Acqua Paola*, an ancient work of Augustus, which Paul V. restored, and caused water to be brought to it by an aqueduct thirty-five thousand paces long, like that of Sixtus V. There seemed to be a contest who should leave the most beautiful monu-

monuments behind him in Rome. This pope finished the palace of Monte Cavallo. The palace of Borghese is one of the most considerable. Rome became under each pope the most beautiful city in the world. Urban VIII. built the high altar in St. Peter's, the columns and ornaments of which would every where else appear stupendous works, but here are only in a just proportion. It is the master-piece of the Florentine Bernini *, whose works are worthy of being admitted among those of his countrymen Michael Angelo.

This Urban VIII. whose name was Barberino, was a lover of all the arts; and was particularly successful in Latin poetry. The people of Rome during his pontificate enjoyed all

* John Laurentius Bernini was born at Naples, though of a Tuscan family: he excelled in the different arts of painting, sculpture, architecture, and mechanics. Pope Gregory XV. procured his admittance as a knight into the order of Christ in Portugal; and Urban VIII. made him overseer of the edifice of St. Peter's. In this church there are fifteen different pieces of his workmanship. The principal of these are the altar-piece and the tabernacle, the chair of St. Peter, the tombs of Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. the equestrian statue of Constantine, the colonade, consisting of three hundred and twenty vast pillars of freestone; and having on its flat roof eighty-six statues of saints twice as big as the life. He likewise designed the fountain in the square of Navonna, the church of St. Andrew of the noviciate of the Jesuits, which is esteemed a perfect model in architecture. In the year 1665, he was invited into France, to design the Louvre, and there he made an excellent bust of Henry IV. who rewarded his merit with an ample pension. He afterwards undertook an equestrian statue of that monarch, which did not answer expectation, and was converted into the representation of Curtius leaping into the gulph;

the sweets which talents diffuse through society, and the reputation which is annexed to them. Urban incorporated the dutchy of Urbino, Pesaro, and Sinigaglia, with the ecclesiastical state, after the extinction of the house of Rovere, which held these principalities in fee of the holy see. The dominion of the Roman pontiffs had received a continual increase of power ever since the time of Alexander VI. Nothing now troubled the public tranquillity; for hardly any notice was taken of the little war which this pope Urban, or rather his nephews, made upon Edward duke of Parma, for the money which that duke owed the apostolic chamber for his dutchy of Castro. This war was but short, and attended with little bloodshed, such as might be expected from these new Romans, whose manners necessarily were in conformity to the spirit of their government. Cardinal Barberino, the author of these troubles, marched at the head of his little army, fraught with indulgencies. The sharpest battle which was fought was between four and five hundred men on each side. The fortress of Piegaià surrendered at discretion as soon as it saw the artillery approach; this artillery consisted of two culverins. Nevertheless, more negotiations were required to put an end to these trifling broils, which hardly deserve a place in history, than if the contest had concerned ancient Rome and Carthage. We mention this event only to give an insight into the genius of modern Rome, who ended all affairs by negotiation, as ancient Rome did by conquest.

The Romans employed their leisure time in ceremonials of religion and precedencies, the
arts,

arts, antiquities, public buildings, gardens, music, and assemblies, while a thirty years war ruined Germany, while England was bathed in the blood of its king and its natives, and while France was laid waste by the succeeding civil wars: but though Rome itself was thus happy in its tranquillity, and famous by its noble monuments, the people were in the main miserable. The money which was expended in raising so many master-pieces of architecture returned to other nations, by its want of trade.

The popes were obliged to buy of foreigners all the corn wanted for the city, which they afterwards retailed out to the inhabitants. This custom continues to this day. There are some states who are enriched by luxury, and others who are impoverished by it. The magnificence of some of the cardinals, and the popes relations, served to make the indigence of the lower people more visible, who, nevertheless, at the sight of so many beautiful edifices, seemed to glory amidst their poverty, in being inhabitants of Rome.

Those who travelled to Rome to admire its curiosities, were surprised to find from Orvieto to Terracina, which is a tract of upwards of an hundred miles, only a desert country, destitute both of men and cattle. The *campagna di Roma* is indeed an uninhabitable country, infected with filthy marshes and standing pools, which the ancient Romans had dried up. Rome itself is situated on a barren spot, and on the banks of a river which is not navigable. Its situation between seven hills, is rather that of a den for wild beasts than a city. Its first wars
were

were the ravages of a people who had nothing to subsist upon but plunder; and when the dictator Camillus had taken Veii, in Umbria, some few leagues from Rome, all the people were for quitting their barren soil and their seven mountains to transplant themselves to the more fertile and pleasant country of Veii. The environs of Rome were afterwards made fertile only by the money of conquered nations, and the labour of an immense number of slaves. But this spot was covered with palaces instead of corn. At length it has resumed its former state, and is again become a desert country.

The papal see possessed several rich territories elsewhere, particularly that of Bologna. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, attributes the misery of the people in the best parts of this country to the taxes and the form of government. He pretends, with almost all other writers, that an elective prince, who reigns only a few years, has neither the power nor the will to form those useful establishments which require time to make them advantageous to a state. It has been found easier to raise obelisks and build palaces and temples than to make the nation trading and opulent. Rome, though the capital of the catholic world, was nevertheless more thinly peopled than Venice and Naples, far inferior to Paris and London in that respect, and did not come near to Amsterdam in opulence, or the useful arts, which produce riches. At the end of the seventeenth century it was computed that there were no more than one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants in Rome, according to the printed list of the families; and this computation was verified by the

the register of births. There were born one year with another three thousand six hundred children; this number of births, multiplied by thirty-four, gives nearly the sum of the inhabitants, which here is found to amount to one hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred. There were about eight thousand Jews settled in Rome, who were not comprised in the above lists. These Jews have always lived peaceably both at Rome and Leghorn, without ever being subjected to those cruelties which have been exercised upon them in Spain and Portugal. There was no country in Europe where religion inspired so general a mildness of disposition as in Italy.

Rome was the centre of arts and politeness till the age of Lewis XIV. and this it was that determined queen Christina of Sweden to fix her residence there: but Italy was soon equalled in more than one branch by France, and far excelled in some others; England was as much superior to her in the sciences as in commerce. Rome, however, preserved the reputation of its antiquities and fine works, for which it had been distinguished ever since the time of pope Julius II.

C H A P. CLVI.

Continuation of the State of ITALY in the
seventeenth Century.

TUSCANY, as being an ecclesiastical state, enjoyed ever since the thirteenth century a state of peace and tranquillity. Florence, the rival of Rome, drew as great a concourse of strangers, who came to admire the masterpieces of art, both ancient and modern, with which she abounded. There were an hundred and sixty public statues. The only two with which Paris was adorned, namely, that of Henry IV. and the horse which bears the statue of Lewis XIII. were cast at Florence, and were presents made by the grand dukes.

Tuscany became so flourishing by its trade, and its sovereigns so rich, that the grand duke Cosmo II. was able to send twenty thousand men to the assistance of the duke of Mantua, against the duke of Savoy, in 1613, without laying any tax upon his subjects; an example hardly to be found in the most powerful nations.

The city of Venice possessed a still more singular advantage; this was, that since the fourteenth century its internal quiet had not been disturbed for a single moment, the city was wholly exempt from any disorder, sedition, or alarms. Those strangers who went to Rome and Florence to see the noble monuments of the polite arts in those cities, were generally fond of making a visit to Venice, to enjoy the freedom and pleasures which reign there, and
where

where there are several excellent pieces of painting to amuse the curious, as well as at Rome. The liberal arts were cultivated with care, and the magnificent shews attracted strangers. Rome was the city of ceremonies, Venice the city of diversions. She had made peace with the Turks after the battle of Lepanto, and her trade, though fallen off, was still very considerable in the Levant. She was in possession of Candia and several other islands, of Istria, Dalmatia, a part of Albania, and all that she now has in Italy.

1618 In the midst of her prosperities this republic was on the point of being ruined by a conspiracy, the like of which had not been known since her first foundation. The abbot of St. Real, who has related this memorable event in a style worthy of Sallust, has embellished his narration with some romantic incidents; but the foundation is undoubtedly true. The Venetians had had a small war with the house of Austria on the coast of Istria. The Spanish king, Philip III. who was possessed of the duchy of Milan, was always the secret enemy of this republic. The duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro of Toledo, governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedemar, afterwards the cardinal de Cueva, Philip's ambassador at Venice, entered all three into a plot for totally destroying this state. The measures were so extraordinary, and the scheme so far exceeded probability, that the senate could not possibly conceive suspicion. Venice was guarded by its situation and the lagunes with which it was surrounded. The weeds and mud which are continually thrown upon these lagunes by the

the sea, prevent vessels from ever entering twice by the same passage, so that it is necessary to point out a new one almost every day. The republic had a formidable fleet on the coast of Istria, where she was carrying on the war against the archduke of Austria, Ferdinand, who was afterwards the emperor Ferdinand II. It seemed impossible to get entrance into Venice, and yet the marquis of Bedemar found means to assemble a body of strangers in the city, the one drawn in by another, to the number of five hundred. These were all engaged under different pretences by the principal conspirators, who secured their services with the money furnished by the ambassador. They were to set fire to the city in several places at a time. The Milanese troops were to be brought over from the main land, and certain mariners who had been gained for that purpose, were to pilot a number of barks full of men, which the duke of Ossuna had taken care to send in readiness within a few leagues of the city. One of the conspirators, who was a naval officer in the republic's service, and commanded a squadron of twelve sail, undertook to burn all these ships, and by this extraordinary stroke prevent the rest of the fleet from coming in time to succour the city. The conspirators were all foreigners of different nations, and strangers to each other. It was therefore no wonder that the plot was discovered. The procurator Nani, a famous historiographer of this republic tells us, that the senate was informed of the whole conspiracy by several hands; but does not take the least notice of the pretended remorse with which one of the conspirators, called Jaffier, is said to have been seized, on hearing Re-

naud, their chief, harangue them for the last time, who painted the horrors of their intended enterprize in such lively colours, as struck Jaffier with dismay, instead of encouraging him. These kind of speeches are generally the inventions of the writers themselves, and therefore every one who reads history ought to distrust them. It is neither probable nor in the nature of things, that the head of a conspiracy should give his accomplices so pathetic a description of the horrors they were to encounter, or terrify the imaginations of those whom he ought to embolden. The senate ordered every one of the conspirators whom they could apprehend, to be instantly drowned in the canals of the city. They shewed some respect to Bedemar's character of ambassador, which they could not well infringe, and caused him to be privately conveyed out of the city, to save him from the fury of the populace *.

Venice, after escaping from this danger, continued in a flourishing condition till the taking of the islands of Candia. This republic sustained a war alone against the Turkish emperor for near thirty years, that is to say, from 1641 to 1669. The siege of Candia was the longest and most memorable that we find mentioned in history; it lasted near twenty years; sometimes turned into blockade, sometimes less vigorous, and in a manner given over; then renewed again at different times. At length it was carried on in form for two years and an half without remission, till at last this heap of

* This is the incident on which Otway founded his tragedy of Venice Preserved.

ashes, together with all the rest of the island, was surrendered to the Turks, in 1669.

How slowly, and with what difficulty is human nature civilized, and society improved! The Venetians, who dwelt almost at the gates of Italy, where all the arts were held in the highest estimation, were a people almost as unpolished as those of the north at that time. Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, were in a manner barbarous, and yet this was the very Dalmatia, which under the Roman empire was so fruitful and agreeable a country; the delicious spot which Dioclesian chose for his retreat, at a time when neither the city or name of Venice existed. Such is the vicissitude of human things. The Morlacks were the most savage people upon earth. In like manner Sardinia and Corsica had not the least tincture of the manners or improved genius for which the Italians were so distinguished. It was with Italy as with ancient Greece, who in the height of her politeness and glory had savage nations inhabiting on her borders.

OF MALTA.

THE knights of Malta maintained themselves in this island, which had been given them by the emperor Charles V. after that they had been driven out of Rhodes by sultan Solymán in 1523. At that time the grand master of the order, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, with his knights and the few Rhodians who were attached to them, were wanderers from city to city, at Messina, Gallipoli, at Rome, and at Viterbo. L'Isle-Adam made a journey to Madrid,

drid, to implore the assistance of Charles V. From thence he travelled into France and England, endeavouring to collect together the scattered remains of his order, which was thought to be entirely ruined. Charles V. made these knights a present of the island of Malta in 1525, together with Tripoli; but Tripoli was soon taken from them again by Solyman's admirals. Malta was only a barren rock. The soil seemed to have been made fruitful formerly by great labour, when the Carthaginians were in possession of this island; for the new possessors found the ruins of several columns and grand buildings of marble, with inscriptions in the Punic language. These remains of grandeur were proofs that it had once been a flourishing country. The Romans did not think it unworthy of their notice when they took it from the Carthaginians. The Moors became masters of it in the ninth century, and Roger the Norman, count of Sicily, annexed it to that island towards the end of the twelfth century. When Villiers L'Isle-Adam removed the seat of his order to this island, the aforementioned sultan Solyman, enraged to see his ships still exposed to the attacks of those enemies whom he thought he had rooted out, resolved to make the conquest of Malta, as he had done that of Rhodes, and sent an army of thirty thousand men to lay siege to this small place, which was defended only by seven hundred knights, and about
1565 eight thousand foreign soldiers. John de la Valette, then grand master, who was seventy-one years old, sustained a siege of four months.

The

The Turks assaulted the town in several places at once ; but were always repulsed by a machine of a new invention, formed of great wooden hoops, covered with woollen cloths, dipt in spirits of wine, oil, salt-petre, and gun-powder ; these hoops were set on fire, and thrown all flaming into the midst of the assailants. At length a reinforcement of six thousand men being sent from Sicily to their assistance, the Turks were obliged to raise the siege. The principal town of Malta, which had withstood the most assaults, was called the *victorious town*, which name it still preserves. The grand master de la Valette ordered a new citadel to be built, which is, after him, called La Valette, and has made Malta impregnable.

This small island has ever since bid defiance to all the Ottoman force ; but the order hath never been rich enough to attempt great conquests, or fit out numerous fleets. This convent of warriors subsists chiefly upon the rents of those benefices it possesses in the catholic states, and hath not been able to do near the same hurt to the Turks, that the Algerine corsairs have to the Christians.

CHAP. CLVII.

Of HOLLAND in the seventeenth Century.

HOLLAND is so much the more deserving of our attention, as it is entirely a new kind of state, which hath become powerful without possessing hardly any territories, rich, without having a revenue sufficient to maintain the twentieth part of its inhabitants, and considerable in Europe by its labours at the farther end of Asia.

You have seen this republic recognized as a free and sovereign state by its former
 1609 master the king of Spain, after having purchased its liberty by a forty years war. Labour and sobriety were the principal guardians of this liberty. It is said, that as the marquis of Spinola and the president Richardot, were going to the Hague in 1608, to negotiate the first truce with the Hollanders, they saw on their way eight or ten persons come on shore out of a boat, who, sitting down on the grass, made a plentiful meal upon bread, butter, cheese, and a draught of beer, each of them carrying his own provision with him. The Spanish ambassadors asking a countryman who these travellers were, the countryman answered, "They are the deputies of our sovereign lords and masters, the states." Upon which the ambassadors cried out, "These people are never to be conquered; we must make peace with them." This is nearly the same thing as is said to have happened between the king of Persia's ambassa-
 5 dors

dors and those of the Lacedemonians. The same manners might have produced a repetition of the same adventure. At that time the individuals of these provinces were poor, and the state rich; whereas, of late times, the inhabitants are become wealthy, and the state poor. The reason is, that then the first fruits of commerce were set apart for the defence of the community.

The Dutch were not then in possession either of the Cape of Good Hope, which they took from the Portuguese in 1653, of Cochin and its dependencies, nor of Molucca. They had no direct trade to China, and that of Japan, of which they are now the masters, was prohibited them till the year 1609, by the Portuguese, or rather by the Spaniards, who were still masters of Portugal. But they had already made the conquest of the Molucca islands, and had begun to form settlements in Java; and their East India company had more than doubled its capital from the year 1602, to 1609. The Siamese had already in 1608, paid the same honours to these trading people by their ambassadors, as they did afterwards to Lewis XIV. Ambassadors also arrived at the Hague from Japan, in 1609, to settle a treaty of commerce. The emperor of Fez and Morocco sent to desire of them a supply of men and ships. In the space of forty years they made a surprising addition to their reputation by commerce and war.

The mildness of this government, and the toleration of all kinds of worship, which might be dangerous perhaps, but was nevertheless necessary, peopled Holland with a croud of foreigners, especially Walloens, who were per-

secuted by the inquisition in their own country, and who from slaves that they were at home, became free citizens in this nation.

The Calvinistical religion, which was the reigning one in Holland, was another means of encreasing its power. This country, at that time so poor, could neither have furnished wherewithal to support the magnificence of prelates, nor to maintain religious orders; and a land which wanted men to defend it, could ill afford to harbour those who engage themselves by oath to suffer as far as in them lies all the human species to perish. They had the example of England before them, which was become a third part more populous, since the clergy had been permitted to enjoy the comforts of matrimony; and that the hopes of whole families were no longer buried within the barren confines of a cloister.

Amsterdam, notwithstanding the inconveniences of its harbour, became the magazine of the world. All Holland was embellished and enriched by immense works. The waters of the ocean were confined by double dykes. Vast canals were cut through all the towns in beds of stone, and the streets formed large quays, ornamented with rows of tall trees. The boats unloaded their merchandize at the doors of the inhabitants; and strangers are never weary of admiring the singular medley formed by the roofs of houses, the branches of trees, and the streamers of shipping, which at one time, and in the same place, present a view of the sea, the town, and the country.

But

But so strangely is evil blended with good, and so apt are men to wander wide of their first principles, that this republic was on the point of destroying with her own hands that liberty for which she had so long and bravely fought; and persecution carried bloodshed among a people, whose happiness and laws were founded on toleration. Two Calvinistical teachers did that which so many other teachers have done. Gomar and Arminius disputed in Leyden with the utmost fury on points which neither of them understood, and by their disagreement sowed dissension among the United Provinces. This dispute resembled in several points that between the Thomists and Scotists, the Jansenists and Molinists, about predestination, grace, free-will, and other dark and idle questions, where the parties themselves can hardly define the things about which they dispute. The leisure and inaction which followed upon the conclusion of the truce, gave the ignorant people an unhappy opportunity of filling their heads with these disputes; and, at length, from a scholastic controversy, two parties were formed in the state.

Maurice, prince of Orange, was at the head of the Gomarians; and the pensionary, Barnevelt, sided with the Arminians. Du Maurier says, that he was told by his father the ambassador, that Maurice having solicited the pensionary for his concurrence in conferring an absolute authority on the stadtholder, that zealous republican answered him only by setting forth the danger and injustice of such a project, and that from that instant Barnevelt's ruin was resolved upon. It is an acknowledged truth

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that

that the stadtholder had in view to enlarge his own authority by means of the Gomarians, and that Barnevelt on the other side endeavoured to curb it by the Arminians; that several cities raised soldiers, who were called attendants, because they waited for their orders from the magistracy, and would not take them from the stadtholder; that there were several seditions attended with bloodshed in many of the towns; and lastly, that prince Maurice set no bounds to his persecution of those who resisted his authority.

1618 At length he ordered a Calvinistical council to be assembled at Dordrecht, composed of deputies from all the reformed churches in Europe, excepting that of France, whose sovereign would not permit it to send deputies. The fathers of this synod, who had exclaimed so vehemently against the rigour of the fathers of several other councils, and even disputed their authority, condemned the Arians in the same manner as they themselves had been condemned by the council of Trent. Upwards of an hundred Arian ministers were banished the republic's territories. Prince Maurice chose twenty-six commissioners from the body of the nobility and magistracy to try the grand pensionary Barnevelt, the famous Grotius, and others of their party. They were kept six months in prison, before they were brought to their trials.

One of the principal motives of the first revolt of the seven provinces and the princes of Orange against Spain was, that the duke of Alva had suffered several persons to languish in confinement without bringing them to trial, and after-

afterwards caused them to be condemned by commissioners. The same oppressions which had been complained of under the Spanish monarchy, were now revived in the very bosom of liberty. Barnevelt was beheaded* at the Hague, and suffered more unjustly than even the counts of Egmont and Horne, 1619 at Brussels. He was a venerable old man of seventy, who had served his country for upwards of fifty years in the cabinet, with as much success as Maurice and his brothers had done in the field. He was sentenced for "having

* John Olden Barnevelt, advocate-general and pensioner of the states of Holland, was a venerable patriot, who had rendered the most important services to his country; and in particular effected the truce for twelve years, between the archduke and the states-general, commencing in 1609. This was the real source of that resentment afterwards manifested against him by Maurice prince of Orange, who sought the gratification of his ambition in his endeavours to protract the war, when the people of Holland were divided by the dispute upon predestination, which had arisen between Arminius and Gomar, two protestant ministers belonging to the republic. Barnevelt declared for the disciples of the former, chiefly because all they asked was a toleration; whereas the Gomarians would not grant them that indulgence. The prince of Orange was at the head of these last, who carried their point in the synod of Dordrecht, where the Arminians were condemned. Barnevelt was beheaded at the age of 72, on pretence of having harboured a design of betraying his country to the Spaniards; a design which he constantly denied with his last breath; a design of which no proof was adduced; a design diametrically opposite to the whole tenour of his former conduct. His death was publicly regretted by the prince of Orange, who did not scruple to declare that prince Maurice and the whole family of Nassau ought to have honoured Barnevelt as their father, on account of the great services he had done their house.

done his utmost to aggrieve God's church." Grotius †, who was afterwards ambassador from Sweden to France, and still more illustrious by his writings than his embassy, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, from whence his wife by great resolution and good fortune delivered him. This act of oppression gave birth to conspiracies, which brought on fresh punishments. One of Barnevelt's sons resolved to revenge his father's death upon Maurice. The plot was discovered, and his accomplices, the principal of whom was an Arminian minister, were all put to death by the hands of
1623 the public executioner. Barnevelt's son had the good fortune to escape while they were busied in apprehending the rest of the conspirators: but his younger brother lost his head only for having been privy to the conspiracy. De Thou suffered death in France for the very same cause. The condemnation of young Barnevelt was much more cruel; it was indeed the height of injustice to put him to death, because he would not turn informer against his

† This was the celebrated Hugo Grotius, advocate-general of Holland, syndic of Rotterdam, and the fast friend of Barneveldt. Being confined in the castle of Louvenstein, his wife obtained permission to supply him with some cloaths, which she conveyed to him in a great chest. In this he was inclosed and carried out of the castle without suspicion. He retired to France, where he received a pension from Lewis XIII. and afterwards engaged in the service of Christina, queen of Sweden. He left a great many works both in verse and prose. Among his writings that are most esteemed, we number his *Mare liberum*, in answer to the *Mare clausum* of Selden; *De Jure Belli ac Pacis libri tres*; *de antiquitate reipublicæ Batavicæ*; *de imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra*; *et annales historicæ de rebus Belgicis*.

own brother. Had these times of cruelties and horror lasted, the free Hollanders would have been much more miserable than their enslaved ancestors, under the duke of Alva.

Amsterdam, though full of Gomarians, always favoured the Arminians, and adopted the plan of toleration. The ambition and cruelty of prince Maurice left a deep wound in the hearts of the Dutch; and the remembrance of Barnevelt's death did not a little contribute towards their excluding from the stadtholdership the young prince of Orange, William III. who was afterwards king of England. He was only an infant in his cradle when the grand pensionary De Wit stipulated, in the treaty of peace which the states general made with Cromwell in 1653, that there should be no stadtholder for the future in Holland. Cromwell still continued to persecute Charles I. in this his infant grandson, and the grand pensionary, De Wit, revenged the blood of a pensionary. This proceeding of De Wit's proved in the end the cause of his own fatal end, and that of his brother: but these were almost the only bloody catastrophes occasioned in Holland by the struggle between liberty and ambition.

Notwithstanding these disturbances at home, the East India company built Batavia in 1618, in spite of the opposition they met with from the kings of the country, and the English, who came to attack their new settlement. Holland, which is itself a marshy and barren country in many parts, formed a new kingdom within five degrees of the line, and in the most fertile spot in the globe, where the fields are covered with rice, pepper, cinnamon, and vines, that

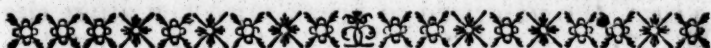
bear twice a-year. It has since made itself master of Banfam, in the same island, after driving the English from thence. This company alone has eight great governments in the East Indies, including the Cape of Good Hope, (though it is properly the farthest point of Africa) an important place which they took from the Portuguese in the year 1653.

While the Dutch were thus forming settlements at the extremities of the East, they began to extend their conquests westward in America, after the expiration of the twelve years truce they had made with Spain. The West India company possessed itself of almost all the Brazils between the years 1623 and 1636. It is amazing to see, in the registers of this company, that in so short a space of time it fitted out eight hundred sail of ships, partly men of war and partly merchantmen, and took five hundred and forty-five vessels from the Spaniards. This company was at that time much superior to the East India one; but afterwards when Portugal had thrown off the Spanish yoke, that nation defended its possessions better than the Dutch, and recovered the Brazils from them, where it found a new source of riches.

1628 The most profitable of all the Dutch expeditions was that of their admiral Peter Hein, who took the whole fleet of Spanish galleons, returning home from the Havannah, and by that one cruise brought back upwards of twenty millions to his country. The treasures of the new world, which had been conquered by the Spaniards, served to strengthen the hands of their old subjects against them, who were now become their most formidable ene-

enemies. The republic carried on this war during eighty years, (if we except the twelve years truce) in the Netherlands, in the East Indies, and in the new world, and was sufficiently powerful to secure an advantageous peace to herself at Munster in 1647, independent of France, her ally and old protector, without whom she had promised to make no treaty. Soon afterwards, viz. in 1652 and the following years, she ventured to break with her allies the English: she had as powerful a fleet, and her admiral, Tromp, disputed the sovereignty of the sea with the famous admiral Blake, till he was slain in an engagement. She afterwards sent succours to the king of Denmark, when besieged in his capital of Copenhagen by Charles X. of Sweden. Her fleet, commanded by admiral Opdam, beat the Swedish fleet, and delivered Copenhagen. She declared war against the English, to whom she was always a rival in trade, in the reign of Charles II. as she had formerly done with Cromwell, though with far greater success. In 1668, she became the arbiter of crowned heads, and obliged Lewis XIV. to make peace with Spain. This same republic, who had been hitherto so closely connected with France, has from that time to the end of the seventeenth century supported Spain against France. She has a long time been one of the principal parties in the affairs of Europe. She has fallen and rose again; and at last, though considerably weakened, she subsists wholly by her trade, which was her first foundation, without having made any conquests in Europe, excepting that of Maestricht, a very small and bad country, which only serves as a defence to her

her frontiers: she has not enlarged her dominions since the peace of Munster, in which respect she more nearly resembles the ancient republic of Tyre, whose power lay solely in its trade, than that of Carthage, who had such numerous possessions in America; or Venice, who had too great an extent of territories on the main land.



C H A P. CLVIII.

OF DENMARK, SWEDEN, and POLAND, in the seventeenth Century.

YOU have not seen Denmark entering into the system of Europe in the sixteenth century. Nothing memorable had happened to draw the eyes of other nations on it, since the deposition of the tyrant Christian II. This kingdom, which is composed of Denmark and Norway, was a long time governed nearly in the same manner as that of Poland: it was an aristocracy, of which an elective king was president. This was the ancient form of government in almost all Europe. But in the year 1660*, the assembly of the estates conferred the hereditary

* It is surprising that our author should dwell so little on an event which stands single in the records of history. At the end of a war which had desolated the country, the estates were assembled to deliberate upon the present condition of the kingdom, and contrive means for raising money to pay the army and repair the fleet. The noblesse proposed

hereditary right of succession, and absolute sovereign power, on king Frederic III. Denmark then became the only kingdom in the world where the people had established arbitrary power by their own solemn act. Norway,

posed a tax upon the consumption of different species, under such provisos and restrictions, that they themselves must have been, in a great measure, exempted from the burden, which would have fallen chiefly upon the inhabitants of cities and towns. The clergy, as the third estate, exasperated at this scheme, proposed in their turn, that the fiefs of the crown, which the noblesse enjoyed upon very easy terms, should be farmed to the best bidders. A violent dispute ensued, and the two parties were greatly irritated against each other. Swan, bishop of Seelund, and Nansen, burgomaster of Copenhagen, were the persons who prevailed upon the clergy and the third estate, to subscribe a declaration, that the crown should be rendered hereditary in the present royal family. This they transmitted to the noblesse for their concurrence. The nobles wanted to treat with the king, that he should be satisfied with the succession established in the male line of his family; a proposal which he rejected. The other two orders, finding the noblesse averse to their design, waited in a body on the king with this deed, which rendered the crown hereditary in his house: he thanked them for their good will, but declared he could not accept the offer without the concurrence of the nobility, who now endeavoured to break up the diet and retire from the city. The gates were immediately shut, and in two days they complied. The capitulation that limited the royal authority was restored to the king, and all the three orders took the oath of allegiance anew. These transactions happened in the month of October; and on the tenth day of January, each order, separately, delivered to the king an authentic act, by which they rendered the crown hereditary to his heirs whatsoever, either male or female; conferred upon him absolute power, not only in governing the state, but also in regulating the succession and regency. These three instruments, signed and sealed by all the members of the diet, are preserved in the archives of the kingdom.

though

though a country six hundred leagues in length, made no addition of power to the state; a territory of barren rocks could not be much peopled. The islands which compose Denmark are more fertile; but they had not then drawn the same advantages from them as they have since. It was little imagined at that time that the Danes would have an East-India company, and a settlement at Tranquebar; or that their king would be able to maintain a fleet of thirty men of war, and an army of five thousand men. Governments, like men, are long in forming. The spirit of trade, industry, and œconomy, is communicating from one to another. I shall not here speak of the wars in which Denmark was so frequently engaged with its neighbours the Swedes: they have left few memorable traces behind them; and you will be better pleased to remark the manners and form of governments, than to enter into a detail of murders, which have produced no events worthy the attention of posterity.

The kings of Sweden were not despotic more than those of Denmark, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The four estates, composed of one thousand gentlemen, one hundred clergy, one hundred and fifty burghers, and about two hundred and fifty peasants, made all the laws of the kingdom. They were not acquainted here, any more than in Denmark, or the rest of the northern kingdoms, with the titles of marquis, count, and baron, so common in the other European nations. King Eric, son to Gustavus Vasa, was the first who introduced them into Sweden, in the year 1561. This Eric, however, was far from
being

being an absolute monarch; and he left the world an example of the misfortunes which may attend the desire of being despotic, without the power of being so. The son of the deliverer of Sweden was accused of divers crimes before the assembly of the states, and unanimously deposed, as Christian II. had 1569 been in Denmark. He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and his crown given to his brother John.

As your principal design in this multitude of events is to direct your attention to those which depend on the manners and spirit of the times, it will be necessary to understand, that king John, who was a catholic, fearing that the partizans of the late king should rescue him from his confinement, and replace him on the throne, openly sent him poison, in the same manner as the sultan sends the bow-string, and ordered him to be solemnly interred with his face uncovered, that no person might be ignorant of his death, and that no one should afterwards make use of his name to set up a new title to the throne.

The Jesuit Possevinus, who was sent by pope Gregory XIII. into Sweden, 1580 and all the North in quality of nuncio, inflicted as a penance on king John for this murder, to eat only one meal on Wednesdays; a penance which was turned into ridicule, but serves to shew that some expiation was necessary. King Eric had been punished much more rigorously for his crimes.

Neither king John nor the nuncio Possevinus could succeed in establishing the catholic religion in Sweden. John, who was not pleased with

with Lutheranism, endeavoured to introduce the Greek communion, but with no better success. This prince had some tincture of learning, and was almost the only person in his kingdom who meddled with controversy. There was an university at Upsal; but it was reduced only to two or three professors, without any students. The nation was unacquainted with any thing but arms; and yet it had made little or no progress in the military art. They had not began to use artillery till the time of Gustavus Vasa; the other arts were so wholly unknown among them, that when king John fell ill in 1592, he died before they could find a physician; contrary to all other kings, who are frequently surrounded with too many. There was not then either a physician or surgeon in all Sweden; only a few grocers who sold medicinal drugs, which they administered at hazard. This was the custom through almost all the North. Mankind were so far from being exposed in that country to an abuse of the arts, that they did not even know how to procure themselves the necessary ones.

Nevertheless, Sweden might at that time have become very powerful. Sigismund, son of this king John, had been elected king of Poland, eight years before the death of his father. The Swedes then got possession of Finland and Esthonia. Sigismund, now king
 1600 of Sweden and Poland, might have conquered all Muscovy, which was at that time in no posture of defence; but Sigismund was a catholic, and his Swedish subjects Lutherans, so that he made no conquests; and at length lost the crown of Sweden. The same estates who
 had

had deposed his uncle Eric, deposed him also; and declared another of his uncles king in his stead: this was Charles IX. father to the great Gustavus Adolphus. All these 1604 events did not happen without commotions, wars, and conspiracies, which ever attend such changes. Charles IX. was regarded only as an usurper by the princes who were allies to Sigismund; but the Swedes considered him as their lawful sovereign.

Gustavus Adolphus, his son, succeeded him without any obstacle, when he 1611 was not full eighteen years of age; which is the time limited for the majority of the kings of Sweden and Denmark, as well as that of the princes of the empire. The Swedes were not then in possession of Scania, one of the finest of their provinces, it having been ceded to the Danes ever since the fourteenth century; so that the kingdom of Sweden was almost always the theatre of all the wars between the Swedes and Danes. The first thing which Gustavus Adolphus did was to make an incursion into Scania, but he could never recover it. His first wars proved very unsuccessful, and he was obliged to make peace with Denmark. But so great was his inclination to war, 1613 that he marched to attack the Muscovites beyond Narva, as soon as he was free of the Danes. He afterwards fell upon Livo- 1620 nia, which belonged to the Poles, and attacking his cousin Sigismund every where, he penetrated into Livonia. The emperor, Ferdinand II. who was Sigismund's ally, and feared the rising power of young Gustavus, sent a body of troops against him. By this we may

may judge, that the French ministry had no great difficulty in persuading Gustavus to invade Germany*. This warrior king made a truce with Sigismund and the Poles; during which he kept his conquests. You know how he shook the throne of Ferdinand II. and how he died in the flower of his age, and in the midst of his victories †.

1632 His daughter, Christina, no less famous than himself, after a reign as glorious as that of her father, after having fought battles and presided in the treaty of Westphalia, which restored peace to Germany, to the amazement of all Europe, abdicated her crown at the age of twenty-seven. Puffendorff says, that she was obliged to resign the government; but at the same time he owns, that when that princess communicated her resolution for the first time to the senate, in 1651, the senators, with tears in their eyes, intreated her not to leave the kingdom: that nevertheless, she persisted in her contempt of the throne, and having assembled the estates, she quitted Sweden, deaf to the prayers
May 21, 1654. and intreaties of her subjects. She

had never appeared incapable of supporting the weight of a crown, but she was fond of the polite arts. Had she been a queen in Italy, she would never have abdicated. This is the greatest example we have of the real superiority of the arts, of politeness, and of social perfection, over mere nominal greatness.

* Vol. v. Chap. cxlviii.

† Ibid.

Her cousin, Charles X. duke of Deux-Ponts, was chosen her successor by the estates. This prince was wholly devoted to war. He marched into Poland, and conquered it with the same rapidity as we have since seen his grandson, Charles XII. subdue it; and he lost it in the same manner. The Danes, who were then the defenders of Poland, as being constant enemies to the Swedes, fell upon Sweden; but Charles X. though driven out of Poland, marched over the sea upon the ice, from island to island, and appeared before Copenhagen. This prodigious undertaking brought about a peace; by which Scania was restored to Sweden, after having been kept from it for above three centuries.

His son, Charles XI. was the first absolute king of Sweden, and his grandson, Charles XII. was the last. I shall here observe only one thing, which shews how much the spirit of government has changed in the North, and how long a time it required to bring about this change. It was not till after the death of Charles XII. that the Swedes, who had hitherto been wholly devoted to arms, addicted themselves to agriculture and commerce, so far as an ungrateful soil and the mediocrity of their riches would permit them. They have since had an East-India company; and their steel, which they formerly used only for fighting, has since been transported in their ships from the port of Gottenburgh to the southern provinces of Mogulstan and China.

Poland was the only country in the world, which, joining the name of republic with that of monarchy, always chose a foreigner for their king,

king*, as the Venetians do for the general of their army. It is likewise the only kingdom which has not been actuated by the spirit of conquest, being wholly occupied in defending its frontiers against the incursions of the Turks and Muscovites.

The catholic and protestant factions, which had disturbed so many states, at length made their way into this nation. The protestants were in so much credit, as to procure an edict,

* Our author surely cannot mean that Poland was always governed by a foreign prince, inasmuch as king Stanislaus, still alive, John Sobieski, Michael Koribat, Wiufnowiski, John Casimir, and many other princes who reigned in that kingdom, were natives of Poland. The crown is indeed elective, and the king at his election is obliged to promise upon oath, that he will inviolably observe the *pacta conventa*, or capitulation tendered to him by order of the senate and nobility. The principal articles of this agreement are these: "That the king shall not appoint his successor: that he shall leave to the republic the right of coining money: that he shall not declare war against any prince or state whatsoever, without the consent of the republic: that he shall admit no foreigners into his council, nor confer upon them any office, dignity, or government: that he shall not marry but according to the ancient laws, with the consent of the senate: that for the maintenance of his table, he shall have no royal demesnes but such as the republic granted to the kings his predecessors: that with the advice of his council, he shall regulate the forces of the republic in such a manner, that it shall never have occasion for foreign auxiliaries: that he shall not in any shape diminish, but on the contrary, augment the treasure at Cracovia: that he shall borrow no money, but with the consent of the republic: that should the necessities of the state ever require a naval force, he shall not have power to raise it, but with the consent of the nobility, and by the advice of the senate.

granting

granting them liberty of conscience †, in 1587; and their party was become so strong, that the pope's nuncio, Annibal of Capua, employed them only to endeavour to place the crown of Poland on the head of the archduke Maximilian, brother to the emperor Rodolph II. Accordingly the protestant faction actually elected the archduke, while the opposite faction chose the Swedish prince Sigismund, grandson to Gustavus Vasa, of whom we have already spoken. Sigismund should have been king of Sweden, had the rights of succession taken place; but you have already seen that the throne of Sweden was at the disposal of the estates. And he was so far from reigning there, that his nephew, Gustavus Adolphus, was on the point of driving him from the throne of Poland, and laid aside his design only to march into Germany, in order to dethrone the emperor.

It is an astonishing thing that the Swedes should have so often over-run Poland as conquerors, and that the Turks, who are so much more powerful, should never have penetrated far beyond the borders of that kingdom. Sultan Osman attacked the Poles with an army of two hundred thousand men in Sigismund's time, on the side of Moldavia. The Cossacks, who were the only people then connected with the republic, and who were under its protection, by the obstinate resistance they made, rendered the Turkish invasion fruitless. What must we

† The king is obliged by his coronation oath, to tolerate Lutheranism in Polish Prussia, where there are also some Calvinists. Poland abounds also with Jews, to whom particular privileges are granted.

conclude

conclude from the ill success of so powerful an armament, unless that the sultan's generals did not know how to make war?

1632 Sigismund died in the same year with Gustavus Adolphus. His son, Ladislaus, who succeeded him, saw the beginning of the fatal defection of these Cossacks, who had been so long the bulwarks of the republic, and now gave their service either to the Turks or the Russians. These people, whom we must distinguish from the Cossacks of the Tanais*, inhabit the borders of the Boristhenes†. Their lives are, in every respect, like those of the ancient Scythians, and of the Tartars, who border on the Black Sea. All this part of the world, to the north-east of Europe, was then in a savage state. It was the exact image of the pretended heroic ages, when mankind were contented with the necessities of life, and pillaged these necessities from their neighbours. The Polish nobles in the palatinates, which bordered upon the Ukraine, wanted to treat the Cossacks as their vassals, that is to say, their bondmen: upon which the whole nation, who had no other possessions but their liberty,

* Or Don, by the ancients reckoned one of the most famous rivers in the world, and the boundary between Europe and Asia; it issues from St. John's Lake, and after uniting with the Sosna, continues a long course, till it divides itself into three arms, and falls into the Palus Mæotis below Afoph.

† Or Nieper, one of the largest rivers in Europe, it has its source in a morass in the Walschoufkei forest, runs in a great many windings through Lithuania, and empties itself into the Black sea, between Oczakow and Kilburn. It has thirteen cataracts within a small distance,

revolted to a man ; and for a long time committed horrid depredations on the territories of Poland. These Cossacks were of the Greek church ; another strong reason to make them irreconcilable enemies to the Poles. Part of them acknowledged the Russians for their masters and part the Turks, on condition of still enjoying their liberty, or rather anarchy. They still preserve the little religion they have amongst them, which was that of the Greek church, but are now almost wholly deprived of their liberty by the Russian empire ; who, since it has of late years been civilized itself, has attempted to civilize them also.

King Ladislaus died without leaving any issue by his wife, Maria Louisa de Gonzaga, the same who was in love with Cinq-Mars, master of the horse to Lewis XIII. of France*. Ladislaus had two brothers, both in holy orders ; the one, called John Casimir, was a jesuit and a cardinal ; the other bishop of Breslau and Kiow. The cardinal and the bishop disputed the throne with each other. Casimir 1648 was at length elected, who sent back his cardinal's hat to the pope, and took the crown in its stead. But after having been spectator, for upwards of twenty years, of the desolation of his kingdom, by factions at home, and by the incursions of Charles X. king of Sweden, and those of the Muscovites and Cossacks ; he, following the example of queen Christina, abdicated the throne, but with far less glory, and retired to Paris, where he 1687 died abbot of St. Germain des Prés.

* See Chap. cxlvi. Vol. V.

Poland was not more happy under his successor Michael Coribut. All that she lost at different times would form an immense kingdom. The Swedes had taken Livonia, which the Russians still continue in possession of, together with the duchy of Courland. The Russians themselves, after having stripped it of the provinces of Pleskou and Smolenskou, made themselves masters of almost all Kiow and the Ukraine. The Turks took Podolia and Volhinia in the reign of this Michael. In fine, Poland could not support itself but by becoming tributary to the Ottoman Porte. The grand marechal of the crown, John Sobieski, washed out this stain, indeed, in the blood of the Turks, at the battle of Chokzim*: this famous battle

* This battle, which was fought November 11, in the year 1673, at Chockzim on the Niester, by the frontier of Moldavia, continued three days successively. The Turks are said to have lost eight thousand Janissaries, and more than double that number of Spahis. They were afterwards worsted in several engagements, by Sobieski, and obliged to sue for peace, which was concluded at Zurowna. In the year 1674, he was elevated to the throne of Poland, notwithstanding the opposition of the emperor Leopold, who endeavoured to procure the crown for prince Charles of Lorraine. In the year 1683, the grand visier, Kara Mustapha, entered Hungary at the head of two hundred and forty thousand men, defeated the prince of Lorraine, at the passage of the Raab, and undertook the siege of Vienna. Sobieski, understanding that the city was reduced to extremity, generously forgot the ill offices he had sustained at the hands of the emperor, and marched with a considerable army to his assistance. Being joined by the imperial army, under the duke of Lorraine, and by the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, at the head of their respective troops, he gave battle to the Turks, and routed them with great slaughter.

Vienna

battle delivered Poland from its tribute, and placed the crown on Sobieski's head. But certainly this victory was neither so fatal to the Turks, nor so decisive as was said, seeing that they still continued to keep possession of Podolia and a part of the Ukraine, with the important fortress of Kaminiek, which they had taken. It is true, that when Sobieski came to be king, he rendered his name immortal by the delivery of Vienna, but he could never recover Kaminiek; and the Turks kept it till after his death, when they restored it at the peace of Carlowitz, in 1699.

Poland, amidst all its commotions, never suffered a change in its manners, its government, or its laws; nor became either richer or poorer: but for want of a perfect military discipline, which the czar Peter had, through the assistance of foreigners, found means to introduce amongst his subjects, and which proved so infinitely advantageous to his kingdom, it has happened that the Russians, who were so long held in contempt by the Poles, have obliged them to receive a king of their nomination; and that ten thousand Russians have imposed laws on the assembly of the Polish nobility.

As to religion, it occasioned very little disturbance in this part of the world. The Unitarians had for some time churches in Poland

Vienna being thus relieved, he pursued the enemy to Bar-kau, where, though at first he met with a check, owing to the impetuosity of his courage, he next day renewed the attack with such vigour, that the Turks were entirely defeated. In consequence of this victory, he relieved Bar-kau, Gran, and Strigonia.

and Lithuania, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. These Unitarians, who were sometimes called Socinians, sometimes Arians, pretended to defend the cause of the deity himself, by considering him as one sole incommunicable being, who had no son but by adoption. This was not entirely the doctrine of the ancient Eusebians. They pretended to restore upon earth the purity of the primitive ages of christianity, renouncing all civil offices, and the profession of arms. Subjects, who made a scruple of conscience of fighting, did not seem very well adapted for a country that was incessantly in arms against the Turks. Nevertheless, this religion continued to flourish in Poland till the year 1658*, when it was prohibited, because it was found that these sectaries, who had renounced arms, had not renounced intrigues. They had entered into a league with Ragotski, prince of Transilvania, at that time an enemy to the republic. However, they still continue in great numbers in Poland, tho' they are not allowed to make an open profession of their opinion.

* *Faustus Socinus* resided in this nation, and his disciples became very numerous; but they were restrained by an edict, in the reign of John Casimir; and John Sobieski expelled them from the kingdom, for having published a book, entitled, *Tormentum trinitatem throno deturbans*. Socinus denied the pre-existence of the word, and considered Jesus Christ as no other than a mere man. He maintained that the Holy Ghost was not a distinct person, and that the father alone was truly and properly God. He rejected the doctrines of the redemption, of original sin, grace, and predestination; and affirmed that the sacraments were simple ceremonies without efficacy.

The orator Maimbourg, pretends that they fled over to Holland, “where, says he, every religion is tolerated but that of the church of Rome.” The orator is greatly mistaken in this article, as he is in many others. The Roman catholics are so far tolerated in the United Provinces, that they make almost two thirds of the nation; whereas the Unitarians or Socinians never had any public place of divine worship there. This religion has spread itself privately in Holland, Transilvania, Silesia, Poland, and England; more especially in the latter. It may be reckoned among the many revolutions of the human mind, that this religion, which reigned in the church for three centuries and an half after Constantine, should be revived again in Europe within these two centuries, and spread itself over so many provinces, and yet not have a single temple in any one part of the world. It seems as if christians were afraid to admit into their communion a sect, which formerly triumphed for so long a time over all other communions.



C H A P. CLIX.

Of R U S S I A in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

WE did not at this time give the name of Russia to Muscovy, and we had but a vague idea of this country; the city of Moscow being better known in Europe than the rest of this vast empire, it was thence called

Muscovy. Its sovereign takes the title of emperor of all the Russias, because there are several provinces of this same name, which either belong to him, or to which he has some pretensions; viz. White Russia, in which is the capital of Moscow, and is the old territory of the Roxelans; Black Russia*, a part of which, towards Lithuania, belongs to the Poles; and Red Russia, which is to the westward of the Boristhenes.

The form of government in Muscovy, or Russia, in the sixteenth century, was nearly the same with that of Poland. The Boiars, like the Polish nobles, reckoned their riches by the number of inhabitants on their lands. The husbandmen were all their slaves. The czars were frequently chosen by the Boiars; but the czar likewise as frequently nominated his own successor, which the kings of Poland never did. The use of artillery was very little known in this part of the world in the sixteenth century, and they were entire strangers to military discipline: every Boiar brought his peasants with him to the place of rendezvous for the troops, and armed them with arrows, sabres, wooden poles tipped with steel, in the form of pikes, and a few muskets. They had no field operations, no magazines, no hospitals; their only method of making war was by incursions, and when there was nothing more to plunder, the Russian boiar, the Polish starost, and the Tartarian mirza, called off his troops.

* The names of White Russia and Black Russia are given by different authors to Muscovy in general. It is called *White* on account of its being covered with snow in the winter; and *Black*, from its gloomy forests, or, according to Cellarius, from its iron mines.

Manuring the ground, tending the flocks, and fighting, was the whole of a Russian's life, till the time of Peter the Great, and the life of three fourths of the inhabitants of the earth.

The Russians, about the middle of the sixteenth century, made an easy conquest of the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan from the weakened Tartars, who were still more undisciplined than themselves: but before Peter the Great, they could not make head against the Swedes on the side of Finland, as regular troops could not fail of having the advantage over them. From the time of John Basilowitz, or Basilides, who conquered Astracan and Casan, a part of Livonia, Pleskou, and Novogorod, till czar Peter, there happened nothing considerable.

There was a remarkable resemblance between this Basilides and the czar Peter. Both of them put their own sons to death. John Basilides suspecting his son of a conspiracy against him, during the siege of Pleskou, killed him with his spear; and Peter, who had condemned his son to die, would not suffer him to survive his sentence tho' he seemed to forgive him*.

There

* Our author seems remarkably fond of convicting princes of filicide. We have already taken notice of this circumstance in another volume, where he treats of the death of Don Carlos, son of Philip II. of Spain. We do not find any reason to believe that Peter was more guilty in this respect than Philip. His son, Alexis Petrowitz, was such a worthless prince, that he not only gave a loose to the most brutal passions, but even formed a conspiracy to dethrone his father. He eloped from Muscovy; and being brought back, the czar pardoned him, on condition that he should discover his accomplices, and renounce the succession in favour of his brother. These terms he embraced;

There are few events in history of a more extraordinary nature, than that of the false Demetrius's, which disturbed Russia for so long a time after the death of John Basilides. This czar left two sons, named Feoder or Theodore, the other Demetri or Demetrius. Feoder succeeded to the crown ; Demetrius was confined in a village named Uglis, together with the czarina his mother. The rude manners of that court had not, as yet, adopted the policy of the sultan and ancient Greek emperors, to sacrifice the princes of the blood to the safety of the throne. The prime minister, named Boris-Gudenou, whose sister Feoder had married, persuaded that prince that he could not establish his authority but by imitating the Turks and assassinating his brother. Boris accordingly sent an officer to the village, where young Demetrius was brought up, with orders to kill him. The officer, at his return, said that he had executed his commission, and claimed the promised reward : Boris, instead of recompensing the murderer, ordered him to be slain himself, in order to suppress all proofs of the crime. It is said that some time afterwards this same prime minister poisoned czar Feoder ; but, though he was suspected of this crime, he ne-

and Peter Petrowitz, the second son, was declared heir apparent of the empire. Peter, the father, finding that his eldest son had not observed the articles of agreement which he had signed, ordered him to be tried by the officers of justice and the clergy, who were unanimously of opinion that he was worthy of death. This sentence had such an effect upon the prince, that he grew stupid and lethargic, and died soon after.

vertheless

vertheless succeeded to the crown of the prince whom he had murdered. 1597

At this time there appeared in Lithuania, a young man, who pretended to be the prince Demetrius, who had escaped from the murderer sent to assassinate him. Several persons who had seen him with his mother pretended to know him again by certain marks. He perfectly resembled the prince in features and person, and shewed a cross enriched with precious stones, which had been tied about the neck of prince Demetrius when he was christened. The palatine of Sandomir acknowledged him immediately as the son of John Basilides, and the true czar*. A diet of Poland examined solemnly the proofs of his birth; and having found them incontestible, furnished him with an army to drive out the usurper Boris, and recover the crown of his ancestors.

In Russia, however, Demetrius was looked upon as an impostor, and even a magician. The Russians could never think that a Demetrius, introduced by Polish Roman catholics, and having two Jesuits for his counsellors, could be their true king. The Boiars were so persuaded of his being an impostor, that the czar

* This Polish nobleman was Adam Wisnowitzski, who having corrected Demetrius, known by the name of Griska, this pretended prince shed a flood of tears, telling his master that if he knew his quality he would not treat him in that manner. Then he declared himself the son of John Basilowitz, who had been saved from the perfidy of Boris, and produced a golden cross adorned with precious stones, which he said was hung round his neck at his baptism; but it was the vaivode of Sandomir, who raised an army in his favour.

Boris dying, they, without hesitation, placed his son Boris, a youth of fifteen years of age, on the throne.

1605 In the mean time Demetrius continued advancing into Russia with the Polish army. Those who were displeased with the Muscovite government declared in his favour. One of the generals of the Russian troops, as soon as he came in presence of Demetrius's army, cried out, "that he was the lawful heir to the empire," and instantly went over to him with the corps he commanded. The revolution soon became complete. Demetrius was no longer a magician. The people of Moscow ran to seize upon young Boris and his mother, and dragged them to prison. Demetrius was proclaimed czar without any contradiction. It was proclaimed that young Boris and his mother were murdered in prison. It is most probable, that Demetrius caused them to be put to death.

The widow of John Basilides, mother to the true or false Demetrius, had been for a long time banished into the north of Russia; the new czar sent to fetch her to court, in a kind of chariot, as magnificent as could be had at that time. He went several miles to meet her on the way, and both of them knew each other again, embracing with a flood of tears in the presence of all the people, who no longer doubted that Demetrius was the true emperor. He married the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, his first protector, and this proved his ruin*. The

* He likewise rendered himself odious to the Russians, by encouraging foreigners, particularly in establishing a guard composed of French, English, Germans, and Livonians.
people

people could not bear to behold, without horror, a catholic empress, a court filled with strangers, and a church built expressly for the Jesuits. Demetrius was no longer esteemed a Russian.

In the midst of the diversions, given on account of the czar's marriage, a Boiar, named Zuski, got together a number of conspirators, put himself at their head, and entered the palace with a drawn sabre in one hand and a cross in the other. The Polish guard were all cut in pieces: Demetrius himself was loaded with chains. The conspirators confronted him with the czarina, Basilides's widow, who had so solemnly acknowledged him as her son. The clergy obliged her to take an oath upon the cross, and to declare whether Demetrius was really her son or not. Then, whether the fear of death forced the princess to take a false oath, and overcame nature, or that she actually paid the homage due to truth, she declared, with a flood of tears, that the czar was not her son; that the true Demetrius had been really murdered while a child; and that she had followed the example of the rest of the nation, in acknowledging the new czar, in order to revenge the death of her son on the family of his murderers. It was then said, that Demetrius was one of the common people; that his true name was Griska Utropoya, and that he had been some time a monk in a convent in Russia. He had been reproached before with not being of the Greek church, and now he was reproached with being at once a Russian peasant and a Greek monk. However that was, the chief of the conspirators, Zuski, killed him with his own hand, and ascended the throne in his stead.

The new czar, who had thus suddenly seized on the crown, sent back to their own country the few Poles who had survived the slaughter. As he had no other right to the throne, nor any other merit but that of having assassinated Demetrius, the other Boiars, who, from his equals, were now become his subjects, soon spread a report abroad, that the murdered czar was not an impostor, but the true Demetrius; and that his murderer was unworthy of the crown. The name of Demetrius was dear to the Russians. The chancellor of him who had been murdered took it into his head to declare, that he was not dead, but that he would soon recover of his wounds, and appear at the head of his faithful subjects.

This chancellor travelled all over Muscovy, carrying with him in a litter a young man, whom he called Demetrius, and treated as his sovereign. At this name there was a general insurrection of the people; battles were fought in the name of this Demetrius, whom nobody saw; but the chancellor's party being defeated, this second Demetrius soon disappeared. All imaginations were so impressed with this name, that a third Demetrius presented himself in Poland, who proved more fortunate than his predecessors had been. He was supported by Sigismund, king of Poland, and came and besieged the tyrant Zuski in his very capital of Moscow. Zuski had still in his hands the widow of the first Demetrius, and the palatine of Sandomir her father. The third Demetrius claimed her as his wife, and Zuski, who saw himself closely shut up within the city, restored the daughter and the father, hoping, perhaps, to soften the king of Poland, or flattering himself

self that the princess would acknowledge an impostor as her husband; but this impostor was victorious. The widow of the first Demetrius therefore did not hesitate to acknowledge this third as her true and lawful husband; and as the first had found a mother, the third as easily found a wife. The father-in-law swore that this was his son-in-law, and the people believed it as a truth. The Boiars, divided between the tyrant Zuski and the impostor, acknowledged neither the one nor the other. They deposed Zuski, and confined him in a convent. This was a superstitious notion which the Russians had, in common with the old Greek church, that a prince who had once been made a monk, could never reign afterwards: this same custom had formerly crept into the Latin church. Zuski appeared no more, and Demetrius was assassinated * at a feast by some Tartars.

The Boiars then offered their crown to prince Ladislaus, son of Sigismund, 1610 king of Poland. Ladislaus made preparations to come and receive it, when a fourth Demetrius appeared to dispute it with him. This person pretended that God had constantly preserved him in the three attempts made upon his life, at Uglis by the tyrant Boris, at Moscow by the usurper Zuski, and again by the Tartars. He found several partisans, who believed these three miraculous escapes. The city of Pleskou acknowledged him as czar. He

* In revenge for the death of their prince, Kasimowski, whom he had ordered to be drowned. This impostor was by some supposed to have been a schoolmaster at Socola, and by others to have been a Jew.

fixed his court there for some years, during which time the Russians, who repented them of having called in the Poles, drove them out every where, and Sigismund lost all hopes of seeing his son Ladislaus on the throne of the czars. In the midst of these troubles, the son of the patriarch Feder Romanow, was placed on that throne. The patriarch was a relation, by the wife's side, to czar John Basilides. His son, Michael Federowitz, that is to say, the son of Feder, was chosen czar at seventeen years of age by his father's interest. All Russia acknowledged this Federowitz; and the city of Plefkou delivered up to him the fourth Demetrius, who ended his reign on a gallows.

There was yet a fifth left: this was the son of the first who had actually reigned, and had espoused the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir; his mother had conveyed him out of Moscow, when she went in quest of the third Demetrius, in whom she pretended to discover her true husband. She afterwards took refuge among the Cossacks with this child, who was looked upon as the grandson of John Basilides, and who might very possibly be so; but as soon as Michael Federowitz was settled on the throne, he obliged the Cossacks to deliver up the mother and son, and ordered them both to be drowned.

It was not expected that a sixth Demetrius would make his appearance; however, a new pretender shewed himself at the court of Russia, under this name, while Michael Federowitz reigned in Muscovy and Ladislaus in Poland. Some young people, who were bathing with a Cossack of their own age, perceived these words pricked upon his back with the point of a needle,

in Russian characters, "Demetrius, the son of the czar Demetrius." This person immediately passed for the same son of the first Demetrius who had been drowned by the czar Fedorowitz's orders. God had worked a miracle for his deliverance*; he was treated as the czar's

* According to the account given of this young man by Moreri, from the *Imposseurs infignes*, there was no miracle pretended; and this, in all probability, was really the son of Demetrius Griska. The princess, his mother, being far advanced in her pregnancy when her husband was murdered, and foreseeing that the usurper's vengeance would fall upon the fruit of her womb, prevailed upon a Cossack, whose wife was in the same situation, to exchange their children: by which means the Cossack's child passed for the son of Demetrius, and was put to death accordingly. The other child being baptized, and marked on the back with characters signifying his birth, was carried away by the Cossack into his own country; where, however, he bestowed upon him a good education, in consequence of having received a considerable sum of money from the mother. This princess had, at her death, disclosed to some of her confidants the secret of the child; but she knew not whither the Cossack had retired, and he died suddenly, without having made Demetrius acquainted with the story of his birth. Chance, however, discovered him, in the little town of Samburg, twelve miles from Lovemburg, in Black Russia. The marks on his back being perceived in the bath, he was acknowledged by John Nicholas Danielowski, treasurer of the kingdom, who sent him in a proper equipage to the court of Uladislaus IV. king of Poland. At the death of this king, he retired to Sweden, where thinking himself not altogether safe, he removed to the court of Holstein, where he met with an hospitable reception. This prince having sent two ambassadors to Muscovy, one of them, called Burchman, borrowed in his master's name, a considerable sum of money, from the grand duke of Muscovy's treasurer. A Russian factor at Lubeck gave the duke of Holstein to understand, that the debt should be cancelled if he would deliver Demetrius to the czar. The duke could
not

czar's son at Ladislaus's court, and was made use of to excite new troubles in Russia. But his protector Ladislaus dying, he lost all hopes of succeeding, and retired into Sweden, and from thence to Holstein. Unhappily for him the duke of Holstein having sent an ambassador to the court of Moscow, in order to settle a trade for Persian silks, the ambassador, instead of succeeding in his negociation, ran greatly in debt at Moscow; and the duke of Holstein, to procure a discharge of this debt, delivered up this last Demetrius, who was quartered alive.

These adventures, which sound fabulous, and yet are very true, never happen among a civilized people, who have a regular form of government. The czar Alexis, son of Michael Federowitz, and grandson to the patriarch Feder Romanow, who was crowned in 1645, is scarcely known in Europe, unless by being father of Peter the Great.

Russia, till the time of Peter the Great, continued almost unknown to the southern nations of Europe, and plunged in a miserable despotism of the prince over the Boiars, and of the Boiars over the peasants. What are at present complained of as abuses among civilized nations would have been divine laws for the Russians. There are some regulations which excite the murmurs of our merchants and manufacturers; but in all the northern countries it was very rare to have a bed: the people in general lay

not resist this temptation: and the prince was sent by sea to Moscow, where he suffered death. His head and members were fixed upon poles before the castle, and his body was devoured by dogs,

upon

upon the boards, which the better sort covered with a sort of coarse cloth, which they bought at foreign fairs, or else with the skin of some wild or domestic animal.

When the earl of Carlisle went ambassador from Charles II. of England, in 1663, to Moscow, he travelled through the whole Russian empire, from the port of Archangel in Poland, and every where met with the same customs, and that general poverty which such a custom pre-supposes, while the court shone with gold and jewels in a rude splendor.

An inhabitant of Crim Tartary, or a Cossack on the banks of the Don, reduced to the savage life of a Russian subject, was far more happy than him, since he was free and at liberty to go where he pleased, whereas a Russian was forbid to go out of the country under pain of death. You will find by the history of Charles XII. of Sweden, and that of czar Peter, therein included, how prodigious a difference half a century has produced in this empire. Thirty ages would not have effected what Peter did by travelling only a few years.

C H A P. CXL:

Of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE in the seventeenth Century. The siege of CANDIA. False Messiah.

AFTER the death of Selim II. the Ottomans maintained their superiority in Europe and Asia. They even extended their frontiers under Amurath III. whose generals took
 1585 Raab in Hungary on one side, and Tibris in Persia on the other. The Janissaries, who were so formidable to their enemies, were no less so to their masters : but Amurath shewed them that he was worthy to be their commander. They came to him one day to demand the head of the testerder, or high treasurer. They had already gathered in a tumultuous manner, at the inner door of the seraglio, and even threatned the sultan himself. Amurath then ordered the doors to be flung open, and followed by all the officers of his seraglio, he rushed upon them with his sabre in his hand, put several of them to death, and the rest fled, and dispersed of their own accord :
 1593 and this haughty militia afterwards stood quiet spectators of the execution of the principal mutineers. But what soldiers are those who drive their masters to the necessity of fighting them ? It was possible at times to suppress, but they never could be subjected, disciplined, or abolished, and frequently took upon them the disposal of the empire.

Mahomet III. Amurath's son, deserved more than any other sultan, that the Janissaries should
 ex-

exercise upon him the right they had arrogated to themselves of giving laws to their masters. He began his reign by strangling nineteen of his brothers, and ordering twelve of his father's wives, whom he suspected of being with child, to be drowned. Scarce a murmur was heard in the nation, and none but the weak suffered. This monster of cruelty had a glorious and successful reign. He protected Transylvania against the emperor Rodolph II. who quitted the care of his dominions and the empire; he laid Hungary waste, and took Agria in person, in sight of the archduke Matthias; and throughout his horrid reign maintained the grandeur of the Ottoman empire.

During the reign of his son Achmet I. from 1603, to 1631, every thing went to ruin. The Turks were continually beaten by Sha Abbas, the great king of Persia, who took from them Tauris, the ancient theatre of the Turkish and Persian wars; drove them out of all their conquests, and freed Rodolph, Matthias, and Ferdinand II. from their fears. He fought for the Christians without knowing it. Achmet concluded a shameful peace in 1615 with the emperor Matthias, by which he restored him Agria, Canisa, Pest, and Alba Regalis, which his ancestors had conquered. Thus it is that fortune balances the events of the world. Thus you have seen the Turks checked in the progress of their victories over the empire and Venice, by Ussum Cassan and Sophi Ismael, and Constantinople saved by the Tartar Tamerlane.

What passed after Achmet's death sufficiently shews us, that the Turkish government is not that absolute monarchy which has been represented

sented to us by historians, as the irresistible law of despotism. This power is, in the hands of the sultan, like a two-edged sword, which wounds its master if too weak to manage it. The empire was frequently, as count Marfigli observes, a military democracy, which is still worse than arbitrary power. The order of succession was uncertain. The Janissaries and the divan did not chuse Achmet's son Osman for
 1617 their emperor, but Mustapha, the brother of Achmet. In less than two months they were tired of Mustapha, whom they declared incapable of reigning, and threw into prison; after which they proclaimed his young nephew, Osman, emperor, who was only twelve years of age, in whose name they reigned. Mustapha had still a party, though a prisoner. His faction persuaded the Janissaries that young Osman had entertained a design of reducing their number*, thereby to weaken their power.

* Their pretence for mutinying was the sultan's design to leave Constantinople, and make a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had actually begun to send his tents and treasures over into Asia, when the Janissaries assembling at the seraglio, called out for the sultan. On his appearing and asking the cause of this tumult, they told him he should not quit the city, and they demanded the heads of the prime vizir and others, as enemies to the government. Next day the vizir endeavouring to expostulate with them was cut in pieces. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at Constantinople, had desired this vizir, whose name was Delaur, to recommend him to the protection of the Kaimacan, or governor of the city, in case he (the vizir) should attend the sultan in his pilgrimage. To this request Delaur answered, "Give yourself no trouble, I shall leave one of my legs behind at your service." Accordingly the prediction was verified; for in a few days one of his legs was actually hung up in the Hippodrome, near the house of the English ambassador.

On

On this pretext Osman was deposed and shut up in the seven towers, whither the grand vizir Daout went in person and murdered his sovereign. Mustapha was a second time taken from his prison, acknowledged sovereign, and at the end of twelve months deposed again, by the same janissaries, who had twice chosen him emperor. Never had prince been treated with such ignominy since the time of Vitellius. He was led through the streets of Constantinople on an ass, exposed to the insults of the populace, then carried back to the seven towers, and there strangled. 1622

Under Amurath IV. surnamed Gasi the Intrepid, every thing again assumed a new face. He made himself respected by the Janissaries, by employing them against the Persians, and leading them in person to battle. He took Erzerom from the Persians. Ten years afterwards he made himself master of Bagdat by assault, which was the ancient Seleucia, capital of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbeck, and which together with Erzerom, has ever since continued with the Turks. The Persians then thought that they had no other way of securing their frontiers but by laying waste upwards of thirty leagues of their own country beyond Bagdat, and making a barren solitude of the most fruitful tract of all Persia. Other nations defend their frontiers by fortresses; the Persians have defended theirs by deserts. 1628

At the same time that Amurath made himself master of Bagdat, he sent forty thousand men to the assistance of the great mogul Shah-Jehan against his son Aurengzeb. Had this torrent, which overflowed Asia, fallen upon Germany,

many, at that time invaded by the Swedes and French, and rent in pieces at home, that empire would have run the risk of losing the glory of never having been subdued.

The Turks acknowledge that this victorious sultan had no other good quality but his courage; that he was cruel, and that his cruelty was heightened by his debauchery; a debauch of wine put an end to his life, and dishonoured his memory.

His son Ibrahim, who succeeded him, had the same vices, and was a weak prince, and wholly void of courage: yet it was in his reign that the Turks conquered the island of Candia, and that nothing remained for them to take but the capital and some few strong places, which held out for twenty-four years.

This island, so famous in antiquity for its laws, its arts, and even its fables, had been once before taken by the Mahometan Arabs, at the beginning of the ninth century, who built the city of Candia, which afterwards gave its name to the whole island. They were driven out by the Greek emperors about eighty years afterwards; but in the time of the crusade, when the Latin princes, who had entered into a league to defend Constantinople, invaded the Greek empire instead of protecting it, the Venetians were rich enough to purchase this island, and fortunate enough to keep it.

An adventure of an extraordinary and somewhat romantic kind, first drew the Ottoman arms upon Candia. Six Maltese galleys having taken a large Turkish man of war, came to anchor with their prize in a small port in the island, called Calismene. It was said that
one

one of the grand signor's sons was on board the Turkish ship. What gave some ground to believe this report was, that the Kissar aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, attended by several officers of the seraglio, was on board of this ship, and that there was a child whom he served with great care and respect. This eunuch was slain in the engagement; the officers who survived affirmed, that this child belonged to the sultan Ibrahim, and that his mother was sending him into Egypt. He was a long time treated at Malta as the sultan's son, in hopes of a ransom proportionable to his birth: however, the sultan never offered any ransom for him, either because he thought it beneath him to treat with the knights of Malta, or that the prisoner was not really his son; upon which this pretended prince was slighted by the Maltese, and at length became a friar of the Dominican order, and was a long time known by the name of the Ottoman father. The Dominicans have ever since boasted of having had the son of a sultan in their order.

The Porte not being able to revenge itself upon the Maltese, who from their inaccessible rocks defied all the Ottoman force, let fall the weight of its wrath upon the Venetians, accusing them of having infringed the treaty of peace, by suffering the Maltese to bring their prize into their harbour. The Turkish fleet made a descent upon Candia, took Canea, and in a short time almost all the rest of the island. 1645

Ibrahim had no share in this event. The greatest things have been sometimes done under the weakest princes. The Janissaries were absolute

solute masters of the empire in Ibrahim's reign ; and if they made conquests they were for themselves and the state, and not for him. At length he was deposed by sentence of the musti and the divan. The Turkish empire was then a downright democracy* ; for after having shut up the sultan in his women's apartments, they proclaimed no other emperor, but the administration was carried on in the name of the sultan, though he no longer reigned.

Our historians pretend to tell us that Ibrahim was strangled by four mutes, from the false supposition, that mutes are employed in executing the bloody orders of the seraglio ; but they are only kept as buffoons or dwarfs, and never employed in any serious matters†. We must therefore look upon this story only as a romantic relation : the Turkish annals take no notice how he died ; it was a secret of the seraglio. The many false stories which have been told us concerning the government of Turkey, which is so near to us, is sufficient to make us doubly cautious with regard to our belief of ancient history. How can we hope to learn any thing certain concerning the ancient

* Or rather a true anarchy. Democracy is a species of government, in which the election of magistrates depends upon the suffrages of all the people : but this was by no means the case at Constantinople, where the sultan was elevated and deposed by a set of armed banditti.

† We wish our author had given his reasons for contradicting the whole stream of history with respect to mutes. The circumstance of Ibrahim's being strangled by mutes is related by St. Paul Rycart, who resided a long time in Turkey, and therefore may be supposed to have been acquainted with the customs of the country.

Scythians, Gomarians, and Celtes, when we are so badly informed of what passes round about us? This may convince us that we ought to confine ourselves to public events in the history of nations, and not waste our time in fruitless researches into private circumstances, which are not transmitted to us by ocular or well vouched testimony.

By a singular fatality, this period, which proved so fatal to Ibrahim, was the same to almost all kings. The throne of Germany was shaken by the famous thirty years war; France was laid waste by its civil broils, and the mother of Lewis XIV. was obliged to fly with her children from her capital. Charles I. was put to death in London by his own subjects. Philip IV. of Spain, after having lost all his possessions in Asia, lost Portugal likewise. The beginning of the seventeenth century was the time of usurpers from one end of the world to the other. England, Scotland, and Ireland, were subdued by Cromwell. A rebel, named Litching, obliged the last emperor of the Chinese race to strangle his wife, his children, and himself, and opened the empire of China to the Tartarian conquerors. Aurengzeb revolted against his father in Mogulstan, left him to languish in prison, and enjoyed the fruits of his crimes in peace. The greatest of all tyrants, Mulei-Ismael, exercised the most shocking cruelties throughout the empire of Morocco. These two usurpers, Aurengzeb and Mulei-Ismael, lived the longest and most happily of all the kings of the earth. Each of their lives exceeded an hundred years. Cromwell, who was as wicked as themselves, did not live so long;

but he reigned and died in peace. In running through the history of the world, we find weakness punished, and powerful villainy fortunate; and the universe one vast scene of rapine left to chance.

To return to the war of Candia; it resembled that of Troy. Sometimes the city was in danger from the Turks, and sometimes the Turks were pent up themselves in Canea, which they had made their magazine of arms. The Venetians never gave greater instances of their courage and resolution; they several times defeated the Turkish fleets. St. Mark's treasury was exhausted in raising troops. The troubles of the seraglio, and the irruptions of the Turks into Hungary, made the expedition against Candia to go on but slowly for a time; but it was never wholly interrupted. At length, in the year 1667, Achmet Cuprogli, or Kiuperli, grand vizir to Mahomet IV. and son to a grand vizir, laid regular siege to Candia, which was defended by the captain-general Francesco Morosini, and St. André Montbrun, a French officer, to whom the senate had given the command of its land-forces.

This city would never have been taken, had the christian princes in any degree imitated the example of Lewis XIV. who in 1669 sent between six and seven thousand men to its assistance, under the command of the duke of Beaufort and the duke of Noailles. The port of Candia was always open; so that there was nothing to do but to send over forces sufficient to resist the Janissaries. The duke of Beaufort, the same who during the time of the fronde acted a part rather more strange than illustrious,
went

went to attack the Turks in their trenches, at the head of the French nobility : but a magazine of powder and granades happening to blow up in the trenches, frustrated this attempt. The French thinking that the ground was undermined beneath them, fled in disorder, and were closely pursued by the Turks. The duke of Beaufort was killed in this action, with several other French officers of distinction.

Lewis XIV. though in alliance with the Ottoman empire, openly assisted the Venetians, and afterwards the Germans, against this empire, without the Turks seeming to be much displeased at it. It is not known what reason this monarch had for recalling his troops afterwards from Candia. The duke of Noailles, who had the command of them after the death of the duke of Beaufort, was persuaded that the place could not hold out against the Turks. The captain-general Francesco Morosini, who had sustained this famous siege so long, might have quitted the ruined city without capitulating, and have retired by sea, of which he was still master : but by capitulating, he still kept possession of some places in the island for his republic, and the capitulation was at the same time a treaty of peace. The vizir, Achmet Cuprogli, staked all his glory and that of the Ottoman empire on taking Candia.

A peace then was concluded between the vizir and Morosini ; and the city of Candia, reduced to a heap of ashes, and with only twenty sick Christians remaining in it, was given up to the Turks. Never had the Christians made a more honourable capitulation with the Mahometans ; nor never were articles more exactly

observed by conquerors. Morosini was allowed to carry off all the artillery which had been brought into Candia since the commencement of the siege. The vizir furnished boats for conveying those citizens who could not find room on board the Venetian vessels. He likewise presented the burgher who brought him the keys of the town with a purse of five hundred sequins *, and two hundred more to those who accompanied him. The Turks and the Venetians visited each other like friends and neighbours, till the day the latter left the island.

Cuprogli, the conqueror of Candia, was one of the best generals and greatest ministers in Europe; and at the same time a just and humane man. He acquired immortal reputation in this long siege, at which, by the account of the Turks themselves, they lost two hundred thousand men.

The Morosini's, (for there were four of that name in the besieged town,) the Cornaro's, the Giustiniani's, the Benzoni's, the marquis of St. André Montbrun, and the marquis of Frontenac rendered their names illustrious throughout Europe. It is not without reason that this war has been compared to that of Troy. The grand vizir had a Greek about him who deserved the surname of Ulysses; he was called Payanotos. Prince Cantemir tells us that this Greek brought the council of Candia to capitulate by a stratagem worthy of Ulysses. The besieged were in daily expectation of some ships from France with provisions. Payanotos

* A sequin is a gold coin, value about nine shillings and seven-pence of our English money.

made several of the Turkish ships hoist French colours, and sent them out to sea in the night time, the next day they sailed back into the road where the Ottoman fleet was lying, who received them with a general shout of joy. Payanotos, who was treating with the council of war of Candia, persuaded them that the French king had deserted the republic, in favour of the Turks, whose ally he was; and this stratagem hastened the capitulation. The captain-general Morosini was accused in open senate of having betrayed the republic. However, he was defended as strongly as he was accused. Here is another conformity between this state and the antient republics of Greece and Rome, especially the latter. Morosini sufficiently cleared his character afterwards by taking Peloponnesus, now called the Morea, from the Turks, a conquest which Venice enjoyed but a very short time. This great man died doge, and left behind him a reputation which will last as long as the republic, which he so eminently served.

OF SABBATEI-SEVI, who assumed the Character of MESSIAH.

DURING the war of Candia there happened an event among the Turks which attracted the attention of all Europe and Asia. A general rumour had prevailed, founded on idle curiosity, that the year 1666 was to be the epoch of a great revolution in the world. This opinion took its rise from the mystical number 666, which is found in the Revelations. Never was the attempt of Anti-Christ so universal.

The Jews on their side pretended that this was the year in which their Messiah was to be born.

A Jew of Smyrna named Sabbatei-Sevi, a man of tolerable learning, and son to a rich broker of the English factory, took advantage of this general prepossession, and declared himself to be the Messiah. He was eloquent, had an engaging figure, affected great modesty, preached up justice, delivered himself with the air of an oracle, and declared every where that the fullness of time was come. He travelled at first into Greece and Italy. He ran away with a young girl at Leghorn, whom he brought with him to Jerusalem, where he began to harangue his brethren. One of his disciples, called Nathan, offered to act the part of Elias, while Sabbatei assumed the character of the Messiah. These two reformed the synagogue at Jerusalem. Nathan explained the prophets, and clearly proved that before the end of the year the sultan would be dethroned, and Jerusalem become the mistress of the world. All the Jews of Syria became proselytes to them. The synagogues resounded with the ancient predictions: they relied upon the words of Isaiah, "Arise Jerusalem, arise in thy strength and in thy glory; there shall be no more uncircumcised nor impure persons among you." All the Rabbins had this passage in their mouths: "Thither shall your brethren be sent for from all parts of the world to Jerusalem, even to the holy mountain; they shall come in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and in waggons." In short, an hundred of the like sentences, which were repeated by the women and children, kept up these

these idle hopes. There was not a single Jew but made preparations for lodging in his house one of the old ten tribes which had been dispersed; and the prepossession was so strong, that these people every where neglected their trade, and kept in readiness to make a journey to Jerusalem.

Nathan made choice of twelve persons in Damascus, to preside over the twelve tribes. Sabbatei-Sevi took a journey to Smyrna, to shew himself to the brethren there. During his residence in that city, Nathan wrote to him in this stile: "King of kings, lord of lords, when shall we be worthy to lie down in the shadow of your as? I prostrate myself to be trampled beneath the sole of your feet." Sabbatei deposed certain doctors of the law, who refused to own him, and placed others more tractable in their room. One of the most violent of his enemies, called Samuel Pennia, was publicly converted to him, and acknowledged him to be the son of God. Sabbatei having one day presented himself before the cadi of Smyrna, with a croud of his followers, every one affirmed that they saw a column of fire between him and the cadi. Some few miracles of the same nature confirmed the authority of his mission. Several Jews brought their gold and jewels, and laid them at his feet.

The bashaw of Smyrna resolved to have him seized; but Sabbatei departed for Constantinople with the most zealous of his disciples. The grand vizir, Cuprogli, who was then setting out for the siege of Candia, sent to take him out of the ship that was carrying him over to Constantinople, and ordered him to be thrown

into prison. The Jews easily obtained entrance into the prison by paying for it, as is the custom in Turkey, and came in crouds to prostrate themselves at his feet, and kiss his chains. He spent his time in preaching to, exhorting, and blessing them, without uttering the least complaint. The Jews of Constantinople, persuaded that the coming of the Messiah would abolish all debts, refused to pay their creditors. The English merchants of Galata bethought themselves of paying a visit to Sabbatei in his prison, and told him, that as king of the Jews it behoved him to order his subjects to pay their debts. Sabbatei thereupon wrote in these terms to those who were complained against. "To you who wait for the salvation of Israel, &c. discharge your lawful debts, otherwise you shall not partake of our joy, nor enter with us into our kingdom."

Sabbatei's prison was entirely filled with those who came to worship him. The Jews began to raise some disturbances in Constantinople. The people were in general very much displeased with Mahomet IV. It was feared that the prediction of the Jews would occasion some commotions. It seemed likely that so strict a government as that of the Turks would have put any person to death who had called himself king of Israel: however, they contented themselves with removing Sabbatei to the castle of the Dardanells. The Jews at that time thought it was not in the power of man to take away his life.

His fame had reached into all the countries of Europe; he was received at the Dardanells by deputies from the Jews of Poland, Germany,
Leg-

Leghorn, Venice, and Amsterdam, who payed dearly for permission to kiss his feet, and this is probably what saved his life. The Holy Land was quietly divided by him and his followers in the prison. At length the noise of his miracles was so great, that sultan Mahomet had a curiosity to see this man, and put some questions to him himself. Accordingly this king of the Jews was brought to the seraglio. The sultan asked him in the Turkish language, "If he was the Messiah." Sabbatei modestly replied, "He was." But as he spoke the Turkish language very incorrectly, Mahomet told him that "He spoke very badly for a Messiah, who ought to have the gift of tongues." "Dost thou perform miracles, continued the sultan?" "Sometimes, answered Sabbatei." Well then, said the emperor, let him be instantly stripped naked, he shall be placed as a mark for my Ichoglans to shoot their arrows at; and if he is invulnerable, we will acknowledge him as the Messiah." Sabbatei hearing this, immediately fell upon his knees, and confessed that this was a miracle which exceeded his power. He then had his choice of being impaled alive, or of turning Mussulman, and going publicly to mosque. He was not long hesitating, but instantly embraced the Turkish religion. He then declared that he had been sent to substitute the Turkish religion in room of the Jewish, according to the ancient prophecies. Notwithstanding this, the Jews of the more distant parts continued to believe in him for a long time; and this scene, which passed without any bloodshed, encreased the shame and confusion of this nation.

Some time after the Jews had met with this disgrace in the Ottoman empire, the Christians of the Latin church underwent a mortification of a different kind : they had hitherto always kept possession of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, by means of the money they were supplied with by several of the princes of their communion, especially the king of Spain. But that Payanotos, who had concluded the treaty for the delivery of Candia, obtained of the grand vizir, Achmet Cuprogli, that the Greek church should thenceforwards have the custody of all the holy places about Jerusalem. The religious of the Latin church opposed this by formal process. The affair was pleaded first before the cadi of Jerusalem, and afterwards in the great divan of Constantinople, who declared the pretension of the Greek church to be justly founded, as Jerusalem had been within its district before the time of the crusades. The pains the Turks took to enquire into the claims and rights of their christian subjects, and the permission they gave them of exercising their religion in the very place where it was first formed, is a very striking example of a government at once cruel and indigent. When the Greeks attempted, in virtue of the sentence of the divan, to enter into possession, these very Latins made resistance, and some lives were lost on the occasion. The government punished no one with death : a fresh proof of the humanity of the vizir Cuprogli, who set several examples that have seldom been followed. One of his predecessors in 1638, ordered the famous Greek patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril, to be strangled upon the

repeated complaints of those of his church. T
mildness or cruelty of an administration every
where depends upon the character of those who
govern.



C H A P. CLXI.

PROGRESS of the TURKS. The SIEGE of VIENNA.

THE torrent of the Ottoman power did
not only overspread Candia and the islands
belonging to the Venetian republic, but it like-
wise frequently penetrated into Poland and
Hungary. The same Mahomet IV. who had
taken Candia by his grand-visir, marched in
person against the Poles, under pretence of pro-
tecting the Cossacks, who had been ill-treated by
them. He took from them the Ukraine, Podo-
lia, Wolhinia, and the city of Kaminiak; and
would not make peace with them till 1672
they had agreed to pay him an annual
tribute of twenty thousand crowns, from which
John Sobieski soon afterwards set them free.

The Turks had suffered Hungary to breathe
during the thirty years war which overturned
Germany. From the year 1541 they had been
in possession of both sides the Danube, to Buda,
inclusively. The conquests of Amurath IV. in
Persia had prevented him from turning his arms
towards Germany. All Transilvania belonged
to princes whom the emperors Ferdinand II.
and III. were obliged to keep fair with, and

who were tributaries to the Turks. What remained of Hungary enjoyed its liberty. It was not so in the time of the emperor Leopold: Upper Hungary and Transilvania were the theatres of revolutions, wars, and devastation.

Of all the people who have passed under our review in the course of this history, none appear to have been more miserable than the Hungarians. Their country, which was depopulated, poor, and distracted between the catholic and protestant factions, and several others, was at the same time over-run by the armies of the Turks and the empire. It is said that Ragotski, prince of Transilvania, was the first cause of all these misfortunes; he was a tributary to the Porte, and by refusing to pay his tribute, drew the Ottoman arms upon him. The emperor Leopold sent a body of troops to oppose the Turks, under the command of Montecuculli, who was afterwards rival to the famous Turenne. Lewis XIV. likewise sent six thousand men to the assistance of the emperor of Germany, his natural enemy. They had a
 1663 share in the famous battle of St. Gothard, in which Montecuculli beat the
 1664 Turks. But, notwithstanding this victory, the Ottoman empire made an advantageous peace, by which it kept Buda, and even Neuhausel and Transilvania.

The Hungarians, after being delivered from the Turks, endeavoured in the next place to defend their liberties against the emperor Leopold, who respected no privileges but those of his own crown. New troubles now broke forth: young Emeric Tekeli, a Hungarian nobleman, who had the blood of his friends
 and

and relations to revenge, which had been shed by the court of Vienna, prevailed on that part of Hungary which was under the dominion of the emperor Leopold to revolt, and put himself under the protection of sultan Mahomet IV. who made him king of Upper Hungary. The Ottoman Porte at that time gave four crowns to Christian princes, namely, those of Upper Hungary, Transilvania, Walachia, and Moldavia.

The blood of the Hungarian noblemen of Tekeli's party, which had been spilt by the hands of the common executioner at Vienna, had well nigh cost Leopold and his family the loss of Vienna and Austria. Cara Mustapha, who succeeded Achmet Cuprogli as prime-minister, was ordered by Mahomet IV. to attack the emperor, under pretence of revenging Tekeli. The sultan himself came and assembled his army in the plains of Adrianopolis, which was one of the most numerous that the Turks had ever sent into the field. It consisted of upwards of one hundred thousand regular troops, about thirty thousand Crim-Tartars, which, together with the volunteers, those who served the artillery, those who had care of the baggage and provisions, the workmen of all kinds, and the servants, made in all full three hundred thousand men. The whole kingdom of Hungary was hardly sufficient to furnish provisions for this multitude. Cara Mustapha met with no opposition in his march, and advanced without resistance to the very gates of Vienna, and immediately laid siege to the city.

July 16,
1683.

Count

Count Staremberg, who was governor of the city, had a garrison whose proper establishment was one thousand six hundred men, of which there were not above half the number effective. The burghers who remained in the town were all armed; and even the university itself, the professors and the students, mounted guard; and their commanding officer was a physician. The retreat of the emperor Leopold increased the general alarm; he had withdrawn from Vienna ever since the 7th of July with the empress his mother-in-law, his wife, and all the family. Vienna, which was very badly fortified, could not hold out long. The Turkish annals say that Cara Mustapha had formed the design of setting up a new empire in Vienna and Hungary, independent of the sultan; and that having entertained a notion that there must be immense treasures in a place which was the residence of the German emperors, he for that reason did not push the siege so vigorously as he ought to have done, fearing that if the city should be taken by assault, the general plunder should deprive him of part of these imaginary riches. He never gave a general assault*, tho' there were many large breaches in the place, and though he knew the town to be without any hopes of assistance. This infatuation in the grand vizir, together with his luxury and effeminacy, saved Vienna, which otherwise must have fallen. It gave time to John Sobieski,

* According to the Christian historians the Turks carried on their operations with great vigour, having given repeated assaults, in which they were always repulsed with great slaughter,

king of Poland, to come to its assistance, and to Charles V. duke of Lorraine and the princes of the empire to assemble an army. The Janissaries murmured; and faint-heartedness succeeding to indignation, they cried out, "Approach infidels, you have only to shew your hats, and we shall fly."

This was actually the case; for no sooner had the king of Poland and the duke of Lorraine descended from the mountain of Calemberg, than the Turks took to flight, without striking a blow. Sept. 12, 1683
 Cara Mustapha, who thought to find such great riches in Vienna, left all his own in Sobieski's power, and on his return home was strangled. Tekeli, who had been made king by this vizir, being soon after suspected by the Ottoman Porte of carrying on a private correspondence with the emperor of Germany, was apprehended by the new vizir, and sent in chains to Constantinople. 1685
 The Turks lost almost all Hungary.

The reign of Mahomet IV. was no longer famous but for its disgraces: Morosini took all Peloponnesus, which was of much greater value than Candia. 1687
 The bombs of the Venetian army destroyed several ancient monuments which the Turks had still left standing, and amongst others the famous temple of Athens, dedicated to "The unknown Gods." The Janissaries, who attributed all their misfortunes to the sultan, resolved to depose him. The caimacan or governor of Constantinople, Mustapha Cuprogli, the xerif of St. Sophia's mosque, and the nakif or keeper of Mahomet's standard, went in a body to signify to the sultan

tan that he must resign the throne, for such was the will of the nation. The sultan spoke a long time in justification of himself; but the nakif told him, in the people's name, to abdicate the empire, and leave it to his brother Solyman. Thereupon Mahomet replied, "God's will be done, since his anger has fallen upon my head; go and tell my brother that God declares his will by the voice of the people."

Most of our historians pretend that Mahomet IV. was killed by the Janissaries; but the Turkish annals testify that he lived five years after being shut up in the seraglio. The same Mustapha Cuprogli who had deposed Mahomet IV. served as grand vizir under Solyman III. He retook part of Hungary, and in some measure restored the reputation of the Ottoman empire: but since that time the limits of this empire have never come beyond Belgrade or Temeswaer. The sultans retained Candia, but they did not recover the Peloponnesus till the year 1715. The famous battles which were fought between prince Eugene and the Turks has shewn that they are to be beaten, but not that much advantage can be gained over them.

This government, which is described as so arbitrary and despotic, appears to have been so only under Mahomet II. Solyman, and Selim, who made every thing give way to their wills: but under almost all the other padichas or emperors, especially those of late years, you will find the government of Constantinople to be the same with that of Algiers and Tunis; you see that in 1703 the emperor Mustapha II. was formally deposed by the militia and citizens of Constantinople. They did not even choose one
of

of his sons to succeed him, but his brother Achmet III. This Achmet himself was condemned in 1730 by the Janissaries and the people to resign the sovereign authority to his nephew Mahmoud, and obeyed without resistance, after having sacrificed his grand vizir and his principal officers to the resentment of the nation. These are the absolute sovereigns so much talked of*. It is imagined that a man is by the laws possessed of despotic power over half the world, because he can with impunity commit some crimes in his own family, and order a few slaves to be murdered ; but he cannot persecute the nation, and is much oftener oppressed than he oppresses.

There is a great contradiction in the manners of the Turks ; they are at once brutal and charitable ; covetous, yet never guilty of theft ; their idle manner of living never leads them either to gaming or intemperance ; very few of them use their privilege of having a number of wives, and enjoying several slaves ; and there is not a great city in Europe where there are less common women. Invincibly attached to their own religion, they hate and despise the

* Despotism in a prince must either depend upon the most implicit obedience in the people, or on the power of the sword : but both these supports will sometimes fail, especially in a fierce and barbarous nation. The people may be oppressed into rebellion, and the troops incensed into revolt. In either case, the nature of the government is out of the question. The revolution that ensues is the effect of violence, and by no means owing to any established law or fundamental constitution : consequently the deposition of a sultan is no proof that the government is not absolute ; it proves no more, than that the executive part of that government has revolted against the head.

Christians,

Christians, and look upon them as idolaters; and yet they suffer, and even protect them throughout the empire and in their capital; they permit them to make processions in the vast quarter which is set apart for them in Constantinople; and four Janissaries march before the procession through all the streets, to preserve them from insults. The Turks are haughty, they know nothing of nobility; they are brave, but have not adopted the custom of duelling. This is a good quality, which they have in common with all the Asiatics, which arises from their never bearing arms but when they go to war. This likewise was the custom with the Greeks and Romans, and the contrary practice was introduced among Christians only in the times of barbarism and chivalry, when it was made a point of duty and honour to walk abroad with spurs at their heels, and to sit at table, or say their prayers, with a sword by their sides. The Christian nobility was distinguished by this custom, which was soon followed, as I have already observed, by the scum of the people, and placed in the rank of those follies which do not appear such because we are conversant with them every day.

C H A P. CLXII.

Of PERSIA and its Manners ; of the late Revolution in that Empire ; and of THAMAS KOULI-CAN, or SCHAH NADIR.

PERSIA was at that time more civilized than Turkey ; the arts were more honoured there, the manners were less brutal, and the general police better observed. This was not merely the effect of climate ; the Arabians had cultivated the arts there for upwards of five centuries. It was they who built Ispahan, Chiraz, Casbin, Cashan, and several other great cities : the Turks, on the contrary, did not build one, but suffered several to fall to ruin. Persia was twice subdued by the Tartars after the reign of the Arabian caliphs, but the conquerors did not abolish the arts ; and the family of the Sophis, during their reign, introduced that gentleness of manners which they had brought with them from Armenia, where they had long resided. Handicraft works were in general thought to be better executed and more finished in Persia than in Turkey. The sciences met with much greater encouragement there : for there was hardly a city without established colleges, in which the belles lettres were taught. The Persian language, which is softer and more harmonious than that of the Turks, has been very fruitful in poetical productions. They acknowledge the ancient Greeks for their masters in the sciences, who indeed were the first preceptors to Europe. Accordingly we find that the Persian philosophy, in the sixteenth and seventeenth

venteenth century, was much the same as ours. Astrology was the growth of their country; and they were much more addicted to it than any other people in the world, as has been already remarked. The custom of distinguishing lucky days by a white mark, and the unlucky by a black one, has been scrupulously preserved among them; this was a common practice with the Romans, who took it from the Asiatic nations. The peasants of our provinces (in France) are not more strict in observing the proper days for sowing and planting pointed out in their almanacks, than were the courtiers of Ispahan in observing the favourable or unfavourable hours for beginning any business. The Persians, like many of our nations, abounded in understanding and errors. Some travellers have affirmed that this country is not so well peopled as it might be. It is very probable, that in the time of the Magi it was both better peopled and more fertile; agriculture was then a part of their religion; it is, of all other professions, that which requires the most numerous family, and which, by preserving health and strength, enables a man more easily to bring up a number of children.

Nevertheless Ispahan, before the last revolutions in Persia, was as large and as populous as London. The city of Tauris was reckoned to contain upwards of five hundred thousand inhabitants. Cachan was thought to be much upon a footing with Lyons. It is impossible that a city should be well peopled, if the circumjacent country is not, unless that city subsists wholly by a foreign trade. We have at best but a very uncertain idea of the population
of

of Turkey, Persia, and the other states of Asia, excepting that of China; but it is indubitable, that every civilized country that can raise large armies, and abounds in manufactures, must have a necessary number of inhabitants.

The court of Ispahan was much more magnificent than that of Constantinople. We imagine we are reading a relation in Xerxes time, when we meet, in the accounts of our travellers, with horses covered with rich brocades, and their harness glittering with gold and precious stones, and the four thousand gold vases which Chardin tells us were used at the king of Persia's table. Common things in life, especially eatables, were three times as cheap at Ispahan and Constantinople as they are with us. This cheapness is a mark of plenty*; travellers, such as Chardin, who have been well acquainted with the country, do not pretend to tell us that all the lands belong to the king. They own that there are there, as in all other countries, demesnes belonging to the king, lands set apart for the clergy, and estates which belong by right to individuals, which are transmitted from father to son.

All the accounts we have of Persia confirm to us, that there is no monarchical state where the privileges of society are more enjoyed. The people there have more resources against melancholy, which is the poison of life, than any

* This is not always the case. There are countries in which provision is scarce, but money still scarcer; of consequence the money will be counted more valuable than the provision, and the price will be comparatively lower than in other countries, where there is more money and more abundance.

other nation of the East ; they assembled together in spacious rooms, which they call Coffee-houses, where some amused themselves with drinking that liquor, which did not come into vogue with us till towards the end of the seventeenth century. Others talked or read ; and others listened to the tellers of stories ; while at one end of the room a priest was preaching for a trifling sum of money, and at the other end a sort of men, who make an art of amusing others, were displaying their talents. These are all marks of a sociable people, and such as deserved to have been happy ; and it is said that they were so under the reign of Shah Abbas, called the Great. This pretended great man was very cruel ; but there are examples of men of a brutal disposition who have loved order and the good of the common-weal. A tyrant exercises his cruelty only upon those who are more immediately under his eye, and this very tyrant may, by his laws, sometimes prove a benefactor to the country in general.

Shah Abbas, who was a descendant of Sophi Ismael, got possession of despotic power, by destroying a militia, which was much the same as that of the Janissaries and the Prætorian guards. It was thus that czar Peter, in order to establish his power, destroyed the Strelits militia in Russia. We may observe in all countries, that the throne is strengthened by troops divided into small bodies ; and that on the contrary, those troops united in one great body, have frequently disposed of the throne, and even subverted it. Shah-Abbas transported the inhabitants of one country into another, which is what the Turks never have done. These colonies

colonies seldom succeed. Of thirty thousand Christian families, which Shah-Abbas transported out of Armenia and Georgia, into Mazanderan by the Caspian Sea, there are but five hundred at present remaining: but he built several public edifices, rebuilt many towns, and raised some useful foundations. He retook from the Turks all that the sultans Solyman and Selim had conquered from Persia. He drove the Portuguese out of Ormus. By all these acts he gained the name of great. He died in 1629. His son Shah Sophi, who was still more cruel than Shah-Abbas, and not so good a soldier or politician, and who was stupified in debauchery, had an unhappy reign. The grand Mogul, Shah Gean, took Candahar from the Persians, and sultan Amurath IV. took Bagdat by assault in 1638.

Since that time you may perceive the Persian monarchy visibly declining, till at length the effeminacy of the dynasty of the Sophis completed its ruin. The eunuchs governed both the seraglio and the empire, under Sophi Musa and Hussein, the last of that race. It is the greatest debasement to human nature, and the particular scandal of the East, to deprive men of their virility; and it is the highest stretch of despotism to trust the reins of government to the hands of such wretches: where-ever they have had great power, the decline and ruin of that state have been the inevitable consequences.

Shah Hussein's weakness reduced the empire to so languid a state, and it was moreover so violently distracted by the factions of the black and white eunuchs, that this dynasty must have fallen

fallen of itself, even had it not been destroyed by Mir-Weis and his Aguans. It has been the fate of Persia, that all its dynasties rose by strength, and were overturned by weakness. Almost all its royal families had the fate of Sardan-pull, or Sardanapalus as he is called. These Aguans, who overturned the Persian state in the beginning of the present century, were an ancient colony of Tartars, inhabiting the mountains of Candahar, between India and Persia. Almost all the revolutions which have changed the fate of these countries have happened by Tartars. The Persians had retaken Candahar from the Mogul, in the year 1650, under Shah-Abbas II. This proved their misfortune. Shah Hussein's minister used the Aguans ill; Mir-Weis, who was no more than a private person, but of a courageous and enterprising spirit, put himself at their head.

This was also one of those revolutions in which the character of the people, by whom it was brought about, had a greater share than the characters of their leaders; for Mir-Weis having been assassinated, and his place filled up by another barbarian, named Mahmud, who was his own nephew, and no more than eighteen years old, it was not likely that this young man could do much of himself, or that he could manage these troops of undisciplined mountaineers, as our generals conduct regular armies. Hussein's government was fallen into contempt, and the province of Candahar having begun the insurrection, the provinces of Caucasus on the side of Georgia revolted also. At length Mahmud laid siege to Isfahan in the year 1722. Shah Hussein gave up the capital
to

to him, abdicated the kingdom at his feet, and acknowledged him as his master, and thought himself happy that Mahmud would condescend to marry his daughter.

In all the scenes of human cruelty and miseries which have fell under our observation, since the time of Charlemagne, there is not any so horrible as the consequences which attended the revolution in Persia. Mahmud thought there was no other way to confirm his power, but by putting to death the principal citizens, with their families. The whole kingdom of Persia has been for these last thirty years what Germany was before the peace of Westphalia, France in the time of Charles, and England in the wars of the white and red roses. But Persia had fallen from a more flourishing state into a greater abyss of misfortunes.

Religion had likewise a share in these calamities. The Aguans were followers of Omar, and the Persians of Ali; and this Mahmud, who was chief of the Aguans, mixed the most despicable superstition with the most detestable cruelties. He died mad in the year 1725, after having laid Persia waste. A fresh usurper of the Aguan nation succeeded him, called Asraf. The desolation of Persia now redoubled on all sides. The Turks over-run it on the side of Georgia, the ancient Colchis. The Russians fell upon its provinces to the north-west of the Caspian Sea, as far as the gates of Derbent, in the country of Shervan, which was the ancient Iberia and Albania. We are not told what became of the dethroned Schah-Hussein during all these troubles. This prince is known only

by having served as an æra to the miseries of his country.

One of this emperor's sons, named Thamas, who had escaped the massacre of the Imperial family, still found some faithful subjects, who gathered about him in Taurus. Times of civil wars and commotions always produce extraordinary men, who would have remained unnoticed in peaceable times. A shepherd's son * became

* According to the account published by Mr. Frazer, who resided many years in Persia, and perfectly understood the language of the country, Nadir-Kuli (for so he was called) was son to the chief of a clan of the Uffha tribe, and governor of a fortress in the province of Chorasan. His uncle, having in his minority, usurped this government, Nadir-Kuli entered into the service of the governor of Mushad. He commanded in an expedition against the Tartars, who had made an irruption into Chorasan, and obtained a complete victory over them. Instead of being rewarded for this important service, he had the mortification to see a courtier put over his head, and when he expostulated with the governor of Mushad on this injustice, he received the bastinado, and was turned out of the service. Then he retired to the place of his nativity, where he met with a very cold reception from his uncle and other relations, and being reduced to indigence, robbed on the highway. He conducted himself in this occupation with such address, that in a little time his gang amounted to five hundred choice men in arms, with whom he laid the whole country under contribution. He was afterwards joined by fifteen hundred men, under the command of Sif O'denbeg, a general in the army of Shah Thamas, which he abandoned on receiving intimation that his sovereign intended to take away his life. Nadir-Kuli was now become so formidable, that his uncle made advances to him, and even procured his pardon from Shah Thamas, on condition that he should enter into the service of his sovereign. In consequence of this reconciliation, he was feasted in the fortress, the government of which was his hereditary right; and he took

became the protector of prince Thamas, and the support of that throne which he afterwards

took that opportunity of seizing the place, after having assassinated the uncle : thus he became master of all the adjacent country. Shah Thamas being threatened with immediate ruin, hemmed in by the Afghans on one side, and the Turks on the other, thought proper to make use of Nadir-Kuli, whom he once more pardoned, and admitted into his service. Though Nadir acted in an inferior station, he soon stemmed the tide of the Turkish success, which had been for some time uninterrupted. He repulsed them on several occasions, and ingratiated himself with his prince to such a degree, that he was declared general of the Persian army in the year 1728. He now discovered great military talents, defeated the enemy in various engagements, and obtained a great victory over the Afghans, which was so agreeable to Shah Thamas, that, as the greatest honour he could confer on his general, he complimented him with his own name ; so that from this period, he was called Thamas Kuli-Khan, which signifies lord Thomas. He now demanded the power of levying money throughout the whole kingdom, for the payment of the army ; a power, which as it rendered him absolute, Shah Thamas granted with great reluctance. He moreover appointed him generalissimo and governor of Chorasán, and gave him his own aunt in marriage. In return for these favours, he, in a little time, deposed his prince, on pretence that he had made a scandalous peace with the Turks ; and confined him in Tabustán, under a guard of six thousand Afghans. His next step was to seat upon the throne the infant son of Shah Thamas, who was now declared king by the appellation of Shah-Abbas III. Immediately after this revolution, he marched against the Turkish general Topal Othman Basha, whose army amounted to sixty thousand men, and routed it with great slaughter, the Basha himself having been slain in the beginning of the action. He continued to reduce place after place, until the Turks were driven out of all their conquests : he obliged the Russians to evacuate the places they had taken in Persia, and concluded peace with both. Having thus restored the tranquillity of the kingdom, he summoned

wards usurped. This man, who had raised himself to the rank of the greatest conquerors, was called Nadir. He kept his father's sheep in the plains of Chorasan, a part of the ancient Hyrcania and Bactria. We must not figure to ourselves these shepherds the same as ours. The pastoral life, which has been preserved in several countries in Asia, is not without its opulency. The tents of some of these rich shepherds are of much greater value than the houses of some of our best farmers. Nadir sold several large

moned all the rulers of provinces, chiefs of tribes, and governors of cities, to attend him on a certain day, when they came, to the number of six thousand, and found him encamped on a plain, at the head of an army amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand men. He told them he had now re-established the peace of his country, and intended to spend the rest of his days in retirement; he therefore desired they would elect a prince capable of governing them, and deliberate three days upon the choice. In the mean time, his emissaries gave them to understand, that it would be for their own interest, and that of their country, to make him a tender of the crown. The hint was taken, and he accepted the offer on the three following conditions: That the crown should be rendered hereditary in his family; that no person, on pain of death and confiscation, should take arms in favour of the dethroned family, on any pretence whatsoever; and that in point of religion, a coalition should be effected between the sects of Ali and the Sunni. The chief priest remonstrating against this third article, Kuli-Khan ordered him to be strangled immediately: then the electors and the people agreed to what he had proposed, and took the oath of allegiance; and he was in the month of March, in the year 1737, proclaimed emperor of Persia, by the name of Nadir Shah. Perceiving that he had made the clergy his enemies, he seized their lands and revenues for the payment of his army, and published an edict, ordering all his subjects to conform to the Sunni religion, on pain of his royal displeasure.

flocks

Guir, making war successively against their father, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. One of these princes, named Shah Gehan, made himself master of the empire in 1627, after the death of his father, Gehan Guir, in prejudice of a grandson whom he had left his successor. The order of succession was not settled by law in Asia, as it is in the European nations. These people had one source of evils more than us.

Shah Gehan, who had rebelled against his father, in the end saw his children rise up against him. It is difficult to comprehend how sovereigns, who could not hinder their own children from raising armies against them, could be so absolute as some would persuade us they are. India appears to have been governed nearly in the same manner as the kingdoms of Europe at the time of the great fiefs. The governors of the provinces of Indostan were masters in their own governments, and viceroyalties were given to the emperor's children. This must manifestly be an eternal subject of civil wars: accordingly, as soon as the emperor Shah Gehan began to decline in his health, his four children, who had each the command of a province, took up arms for the succession. They agreed in dethroning their father, and made war upon each other. Exactly the same thing happened here as to Lewis the Feeble, or the Debonnair. The most wicked of the four brothers, Aurengzeb, proved the most fortunate.

The same hypocrisy which all have remarked in Cromwell was found in this Indian prince, together with the same dissimulation and cruelty, but with a more unnatural heart. He at

first joined with one of his brothers, and made himself master of the person of his father Shah Gehan, whom he kept ever afterwards in prison: he then assassinated this very brother, whom he had made use of as a dangerous instrument, which he was now resolved to get rid of; after which he pursued his other two brothers, whom he conquered, and caused to be strangled one after another.

The old emperor, however, was still living, but kept under the most rigorous confinement by his son Aurengzeb; and his name was often made use of as a pretext for carrying on plots against the tyrant. At length, his father being taken with a slight indisposition, he sent his own physician to attend him, and the old man died. It was generally believed throughout Asia, that Aurengzeb had poisoned him. No man was ever a stronger instance that success is not the reward of virtue. This man, stained with the blood of his brothers, and guilty of his father's death, succeeded in all his undertakings, and died in 1707, after having attained the age of an hundred and three*. Never

* His three brothers were called Dara-cha, Morat-Bakchi, and Sultan-Sujah. His elder brother, Dara-cha, after having been defeated by him in a bloody battle, was betrayed into his hands and beheaded. He imprisoned Morat-Bakchi in the fortrefs of Gonateor, and Sultan-Sujah fled into the kingdom of Arakan. Aurengzeb resembled Oliver Cromwell in his superstition, as well as in his perfidy and ambition; for, when he ascended the throne, he imposed a penance on himself for the expiation of his crimes. He lived upon barley bread, herbs, and sweatmeats, and drank nothing but water. This temperance, no doubt, contributed to his longevity, though it never reached to the age of one hundred,

had

had any prince a longer or more fortunate career. He added to the Mogul's empire, the kingdoms of Visapour and Golconda, all the country of Carnate, and almost the whole of that great isthmus which confines the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. This man, who would have suffered the most ignominious death, had he been tried by the common laws of nations, was, without contradiction, the most powerful prince in the universe.

The magnificence of the kings of Persia, dazzling as it may appear to us, was only the attempt of a middling court, to shew something like splendor, in comparison with the riches of Aurengzeb.

In all times the Asiatic princes have accumulated treasures, their riches consisting in what they can heap up; whereas the wealth of the European princes consists in the money that circulates in their dominions. The treasure amassed by Tamerlane was still in being, and his successors had been continually adding to it. Aurengzeb increased it by most astonishing riches. One of his thrones only was valued by Tavernier at one hundred and sixty millions of the money of his time, which is more than three hundred millions of the present currency. The canopy of this throne was supported by twelve pillars of gold, surrounded with large pearls. The canopy itself was of pearls and diamonds, and at the top was a peacock, who spread a tail of precious stones: all the rest was in proportion to this astonishing magnificence. The greatest festival of the year was that day on which the emperor was weighed in a pair of golden scales in presence of the people, and on this day he

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received

received presents to the amount of above fifty millions.

If ever climate influenced the manners of men, it is assuredly that of India. The emperors display the same luxury, and lead the same effeminate lives as those Indian kings mentioned by Quintus Curtius; and the Tartars, who conquered this country, have insensibly adopted the same manners and become Indians.

All this excess of opulence and luxury only served to make the state more unhappy. In the year 1739, the same thing happened to Mahamad-Shah, Aurengzeb's grandson, as befel Croesus, to whom it was said, "You have indeed much gold, but he that can make a better use of steel than you, will deprive you of this gold."

Thamas Kouli-Khan, who had raised himself to the throne of Persia, after having deposed his sovereign, conquered the Afghans, and took Candahar, pursued his success, and marched to the capital of India, for no other reason than to deprive the Mogul of all those treasures which his ancestors had taken from the Indians. There is not an instance of so numerous an army as that which the great Mogul raised against Thamas Kouli-Khan, nor of so weak a conduct as that of this prince. He brought twelve hundred thousand men, ten thousand pieces of cannon, and two thousand armed elephants, into the field, to oppose the conqueror of Persia, who had with him only sixty thousand men. Darius did not bring so great a force against Alexander.

It is farther said, that this vast multitude of Indians was covered by intrenchments six leagues
in

in length, on that side by which Kouli-Khan could attack them. So prodigious an army was sufficient to surround its enemies, cut them off from all communication, and destroy them by famine, in a country with which they were unacquainted. Instead of that, the little Persian army besieged the great one, cut off its supplies of provisions, and destroyed it piecemeal. The great mogul, Mahamad, seemed to have come thither only to make a parade of his vain grandeur, and subject it to the power of these disciplined robbers: in fact, he came and humbled himself to Thamas Kouli-Khan, who talked to him in a magisterial tone, and treated him as his subject. This conqueror now entered Deli, which is represented as a city larger and more populous than either London or Paris. He dragged this rich and miserable emperor with him where-ever he went. At length he shut him up in a tower, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of India.

Some of the late Mogul's officers, having attempted to seize the opportunity of a night when the Persians were given up to riot and debauch, to take up arms against their conquerors, Thamas Kouli-Khan delivered the city up to plunder, and every thing was ravaged by fire and sword. He carried off much greater riches from Deli than the Spaniards had taken at the conquest of Mexico. These immense treasures, which had been amassed by a continual rapine of four centuries, and were carried away into Persia by another rapine, have not prevented the Persians from being a long time the most miserable people upon earth. These riches are dispersed or buried, during the

civil wars, till such time as some future tyrant should again gather them together.

Kouli-Khan, when he left India to return into Persia, had the vanity to leave the title of emperor to Mahamad-Shah, whom he had dethroned; but he committed the government of the empire to a viceroy, who had brought up the great mogul, and had made himself independent of him. He separated three kingdoms from this vast empire, viz. Cachemire, Caboul, and Multan, to incorporate them with Persia, and imposed a tribute of several millions on Indostan.

Indostan then was governed by the viceroy and a council, appointed by Thamas Kouli-Khan. Mahamad, who still retained the title of king of kings, and sovereign of the universe, was a mere phantom. All things had now resumed their common course, when Kouli-Khan was assassinated in Persia in the midst of his triumphs: since that the Mogul has ceased to pay the tribute, and the provinces which had been taken from the empire by the Persian victor have been reannexed to it.

We are not to believe that this king of kings, Mahamad, was despotic before his misfortunes; Aurengzeb had made himself such by vigilance, conquest, and cruelty. Despotism is a violent state, which seems not capable of duration. It is impossible that in an empire where viceroys keep armies of twenty thousand men in their pay, that these viceroys should ever pay a long or blind obedience to their sovereign. The lands which the emperor bestows on these viceroys become from that instant independent of him. We must be careful how we give credit

credit to that erroneous assertion, that in India the product of the people's labours all belong to one man. There are several Indian casts who still preserve their old possessions. The rest of the lands have been given to the grandees of the empire, the rajas, the nabobs, and the omras. These lands are cultivated as in other places, by farmers, who enrich themselves by it, and by colons, who work for their masters. The lower class of people are poor in India, notwithstanding the riches of the country, as they are in almost every other part of the world; but they are not bond slaves, nor confined to a particular spot, as they were formerly in Europe, and still continue to be in Poland, Bohemia, and several of the countries of Germany. The peasant throughout all Asia is at liberty to leave his native country whenever he is discontented with his situation, and go in search of a better where he can find it.

The sum of what we have to say of India in general is, that it is governed as a conquered country by thirty tyrants who acknowledge an emperor, sunk like themselves into luxury and debauch, and who devour the substance of the people. There are no fixed courts of justice here, the depositaries of the laws, which protect the weak against the powerful.

It is a problem very difficult to solve, that the gold and silver which comes from America into Europe, should be continually carried into Indostan, and there swallowed up, never again to appear: and that nevertheless the people should be in general poor, and work almost for nothing. But the reason is, that the money does not go among the
3 people,

people, it goes to the merchants, who pay immense duties to the governors; these governors give a great part of their profits to the great mogul, and hide the rest. Man's labour is worse payed in this, the richest country of the earth, than any where else; because in every country the pay of a day labourer seldom exceeds his subsistence and cloathing; now the extreme fruitfulness of the soil in India, and the heat of the climate, make subsistence and cloathing come to little or nothing. The labourer who seeks for diamonds in the mines, earns enough to buy him a little rice, and a cotton shirt: in all countries the rich have the services of the poor upon easy terms.

I shall not repeat what I have already said of those idolaters who are still found in great numbers in India: their superstitions are the same as they were in Alexander's time. The Bramins teach the same religion; the women still throw themselves into the fire, which is lighted to burn their husband's body, as has been frequently seen by our travellers and merchants. The disciples of a sect sometimes make a point of honour of not surviving their masters. Tavernier relates, that he was witness to a transaction of this nature, even in Agra, one of the capital cities of India. A bramin having died, an Indian merchant who had studied under him, came to the Dutch lodge, settled his accounts with them, and told them that he was resolved to follow his master into the other world, and actually starved himself to death, in spite of all their endeavours to persuade him to live.

One thing worthy of observation is, that the arts hardly ever go out of the families where they

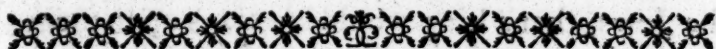
they are cultivated: the daughters of artificers never marry but with those of their fathers trade. This is a very ancient custom in Asia, and was formerly a standing law in Egypt.

The law in Asia and Africa, which has always allowed a plurality of wives, cannot be put in practice by the poor people. The rich have always reckoned their wives as part of their fortunes, and have kept eunuchs to take care of them. This has been a custom time out of mind in India, as well as throughout all Asia. When the Jews wanted a king above three thousand years ago, Samuel their magistrate and high priest, who opposed the establishment of the regal power, remonstrated to the Jews, that a king would lay taxes upon them for the support of his eunuchs. Men must have been for a long time accustomed to slavery not to look upon such a custom as very extraordinary.

While I was about finishing this chapter, a new revolution has turned every thing upside down in Indostan. The tributary princes, and the viceroys, have all shaken off the yoke. The people in the inland countries have dethroned their sovereign. India, like Persia, is become the seat of civil wars. These disasters shew us, that the administration was very bad, and at the same time, that this pretended despotism had no real existence. The emperor was not even powerful enough to make himself obeyed by a raja.

Our travellers have imagined that arbitrary power resided essentially in the person of the great mogul, because Aurengzeb subjected

every thing to his will. They have not considered that this power is founded wholly on the right of arms, and lasts no longer than he who exercises it has the command of a strong army : and that this very despotism which destroys every thing, is likewise its own destroyer. It is not a form of government, but a subversion of all government. It adopts caprice for rule, and does not support itself by the laws, which can alone ensure its duration ; and this colossus falls to the ground the instant its arm ceases to be outstretched. From its ruins there arise several petty tyrannical governments, and the state never resumes a settled form till the laws are restored to their due functions.



C H A P. CXLIV.

Of CHINA in the Seventeenth Century, and at the beginning of the Eighteenth.

IT can certainly be of very little use to you to know that in the Chinese dynasty, which reigned after the Tartar dynasty of Gengiscan, the emperor Quancum succeeded Kincum, and Kincum Quancum. It is sufficient that these names are found in the chronological tables ; but as you confine your attention wholly to events and manners, you will readily pass over these void spaces to come at times distinguished by great things. The same effeminacy which proved the ruin of Persia and India occasioned a more thorough revolution in China in the last century, than that brought about
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by Gengis-can and his sons. The Chinese empire, at the beginning of the seventeenth century was in a much happier state than either India, Persia, or Turkey. It is not in human imagination to form a better plan of government than that by which the great courts of justice are regulated, who are all subordinate to one another, and whose members must undergo the strictest examination before they are admitted. These courts regulate all matters in China. There are six supreme courts who preside over all the other courts in the empire. The first inspects into the conduct of all the mandarins; the second manages the finances; the third superintends the religious ceremonies, and the arts and sciences; the fourth directs the affairs relative to war; the fifth overlooks the courts set apart for judging criminal causes; and the sixth has the care of public works. The result of the several decisions is carried before a supreme tribunal*. Under these six courts there are forty-four subaltern ones, who sit at Pekin. Every mandarin of a province or a city is assisted by a court. It is impossible that under such an administration an emperor can ever exercise arbitrary power. He has indeed the making of the general laws; but, by the constitution of the state, he can do nothing

* How can these six sovereign courts be at the head of all the courts in the empire, if their decisions are referred to one that is supreme? The truth is, there are two supreme councils, one stiled Extraordinary, consisting of the princes of the blood only; the other, Ordinary, composed of some princes of the blood, assisted by a number of kolaws, or ministers of state: and to these supreme councils the other six tribunals are subordinate.

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without first consulting men learned in the laws and chosen by suffrage. Although the emperor's subjects always prostrate themselves before him as if he was a God, and that the least failure in respect to his person is punished as an act of sacrilege; still this does not prove his government to be despotic and arbitrary. A despotic government * would be that where the prince may, without infringing the laws, deprive a subject of his fortune or life without form of trial, and for no other reason than that it is his will. Now, if ever there was a state in which the life, honour, and fortune of the subject was under the protection of the laws, it is that of China. The greater the number of public bodies who are guardians of the laws, the less arbitrary is that government; and if the sovereign sometimes makes an ill use of his power against the few who are immediately under his cognizance, he cannot do so with respect to the multitude who are not known to him, and who live under the protection of the laws.

Husbandry, which has been carried to a greater degree of perfection there than was ever known in Europe, sufficiently shews that the people were not burthened with those taxes which put a check to the industry of the husbandman. The great numbers of those employed in giving pleasure to others, shew that

* That prince is despotic who assents to laws made for the regulation of his subjects; but can himself dispense with these laws for his own convenience or caprice, without being called in question. That is a despotic government in which the people are bound by certain laws; but the prince is bound by none.

flocks belonging to his father, and with the money put himself at the head of a troop of banditti; a thing which is still very common in these countries, where the people have retained the manners of antiquity. He offered himself and his troop to prince Thamas; and by dint of ambition, courage, and activity, rose to the command of an army. He then took the name of Thamas Kouli-Khan, or the Kan Thamas's slave: but the slave was the master under this prince, who was as weak and effeminate as his father Hussein. He retook Ispahan and all Persia; pursued the new king Afras, as far as Candahar; overcame and took him prisoner, and caused his head to be struck off, after having first plucked out his eyes. 1729

Kouli-Khan having thus replaced prince Thamas on the throne of his ancestors, and put it in his power to be ungrateful, resolved to prevent his being so, and shut him up in the capital of Chorasán. He still continued to act under the name of the prince he kept a prisoner. He made war upon the Turk, well knowing that his power was to be strengthened only by those means by which he first acquired it. He beat the Turks at Erivan, retook all that country, and secured his conquests by making a peace with the Russians. And now he caused himself to be declared king of Persia, under the name of Shah Nadir. On this occasion he did not forget the old custom of putting out the eyes of those who had any title to the throne, which piece of cruelty he practised upon his own sovereign Shah Thamas. The same armies which had served to desolate

1736

Persia now assisted in rendering her formidable to her neighbours. Kouli-Khan put the Turks several times to flight. At length he made an honourable peace with them, by which they restored to him all that they had ever taken from the Persians, excepting Bagdat and its territories.

Kouli-Khan, loaded with crimes and glory, proceeded next to make the conquest of India, as we shall see in the following chapter. At his return to his own country, he found a party formed for the princes of the royal family who were still in being; and in the midst of these new commotions he was assassinated by his own nephew, like Mir-Weis the first author of the revolution. Persia then became once more the theatre of civil wars. So many devastations destroyed commerce and the arts in this country, by destroying a part of the inhabitants; but where the land is fruitful and the nation industrious, every thing is repaired again in the end.



CHAP. CLXIII.

Of the MOGULS.

THIS prodigious variety of manners, customs, laws, and revolutions, which have all the same principle of interest, constitutes the historical picture of the universe. We have not seen, either in Persia or Turkey, a son in rebellion against his father. In India you behold the two sons of the Great Mogul, Gehan Guir,

the towns were as flourishing as the country was fertile. There is not a city in the empire which had not its feasts and shews. They did not like us go to the play-houses; they sent for whole companies of comedians to their own houses. The comic and tragic art was common among them, but without being in great perfection; for the ancients have not improved any of the arts of genius excepting morality; but they enjoyed to a degree of profusion such as they knew; and, in a word, were as happy as human nature can be.

This happiness was succeeded in the year 1630, by the most terrible catastrophe and universal desolation that could befall a state. The family of the Tartar conquerors, descendants of Gengis-Can, had done what all other conquerors had endeavoured to do: they weakened a nation of conquerors, that they might not, while in possession of the throne, have the same revolution to fear from the vanquished that themselves had caused. This dynasty, which was that of Ivan, having been afterwards expelled by the dynasty of Ming, the Tartars who lived to the northward of the great wall, were looked upon only as a kind of savages, from whence there was nothing to hope nor to fear. Beyond the great wall lies the kingdom of Leaotong, incorporated by the Gengis family with the empire of China, and become wholly Chinese. To the north end of Leaotong, there were some herds of Mantchou Tartars, whom the viceroy of Leaotong treated with an oppressive severity. They made some bold representations, such as we are told the Scythians did ever after the invasion of their country by Cyrus; for
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the genius of a people is always the same till a long course of oppression occasions them to degenerate.

All the answer the governor made to their complaint was, to burn their cabbins, carry away their flocks, and endeavour to transplant the inhabitants. Then these Tartars, who were free, chose a chief of their own to carry on a war against their oppressors. This chief, who was called Taitso, soon made himself
1622 king: he beat the Chinese, entered victorious into Leaotong, and took the capital by assault.

This war was carried on in the same manner as those of distant times. Fire arms were at that time unknown in this part of the world. The ancient arms were the only ones in use; such as arrows, spears, clubs, and scimitars: they made a little use of bucklers and helmets; but there were very few coats of mail. Their fortifications consisted in a ditch, a wall, and towers upon it: they sapped the wall, or mounted it by scaling ladders. The victory depended solely upon bodily strength; and the Tartars, who were accustomed to sleep in the open fields, must necessarily have the advantage over a people bred up in a more delicate manner.

Taitso, the first chief of the Tartar hords, dying in the year 1626, at the beginning of his victories; his son Taitsong immediately took the title of Emperor of the Tartars, and put himself upon a level with the emperor of China. It is said that he could read and write; and it appears that he acknowledged only one God, like the Chinese literati; for he thus expresses himself in one of the circular letters which he wrote to the magistrates of the Chinese provinces:

“Tien raises up whom he pleases; perhaps he may have chosen me to be your master.” And, in fact, after the year 1628 Tien caused him to gain victory after victory. He was a man of great abilities; he civilized his brutal followers, to make them more obedient, and established laws in the midst of war. He always headed his troops in person; and the emperor of China, Hoaitfang, whose name has been lost in obscurity, remained shut up in his palace, with his women and eunuchs, and was the last emperor of the Chinese race: he was not able to prevent Taitfong and his Tartars from taking from him all his northern provinces, nor yet to suppress the rebellion of one of his mandarins, named Litching, who seized upon the southern ones. While the Tartars were ravaging the countries to the eastward and northward, this Litching made himself master of all the rest. It is said that he had six hundred thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand infantry. He came with the flower of his army before Peking, where the emperor still continued shut up in his palace, and was ignorant of great part of what was doing. The rebel Litching, (for he is so called, as not having succeeded,) sent back to the emperor two of his chief eunuchs whom he had made prisoners, with a very short letter, in which he exhorted him to quit the empire.

And here we may see an instance of the Asiatic pride, and how well it agrees with the general effeminacy of their manners. The emperor ordered the two eunuchs to have their heads struck off, for having brought him a disrespectful letter; and his courtiers had much ado to make him sensible that the heads of the prin-

ces of the blood, and a great number of mandarins, whom Listching had in his power, would be made to answer for the death of the eunuchs.

While the emperor was deliberating upon what answer he should send back, Listching had already entered the city. The empress had barely time enough to save some of her sons; after which she shut herself up in her apartment, and there hanged herself. The emperor immediately ran thither, and being greatly taken with this instance of conjugal fidelity, he exhorted the rest of his wives, to the number of forty, to follow the example. Father Mailla, the Jesuit, who wrote this account in Pekin itself, in the last century, says, that all these women obeyed without replying; but it is very possible that there might be a few of them who wanted assistance. The emperor, whom this writer represents as a very good kind of a prince, perceiving, after the execution, his only daughter, about fifteen years old, whom the empress had not thought proper to expose out of the seraglio, he exhorted her to hang herself, as well as her mother and mothers-in-law; but the young princess desiring to be excused, this very good prince, as Mailla calls him, gave her a violent blow with his sabre, and left her dead. It may be expected that such a father and an husband would have slain himself upon the dead bodies of his wives and his daughter; but he retired to a pavillion without the city, to wait for news; and being at length informed that every thing was desperate, and that Listching had taken possession of his palace, he strangled himself, and at once put an end to an

an empire and a life which he had not had the courage to defend *. This extraordinary event happened in the year 1641. It was under this last emperor of the Chinese race that the Jesuits at length made their way into the court of Peking. Father Adam Schall, a native of Cologne, had so far gained the good graces of this emperor, by his knowledge in physicks and the mathematics, that he made him a mandarin. He was the first who shewed the Chinese how to cast brass cannon; but the few that were in Peking were not sufficient to save the empire:

* This catastrophe is differently related by father Duhalde and Palafox. This last says, that the emperor being abandoned even by his guards, retired with his empress into a small wood, incapable of uttering one word, such was the excess of his grief. The empress, having tenderly embraced him, hanged herself with a silken cord. The emperor having drank a glass of wine, though at other times averse to that liquor, bit his own finger, to produce an effusion of blood, with which he wrote a long letter, complaining of the treachery of his officers, lamenting the ruin of his empire, and the extinction of his family; concluding with this declaration, that as he had lost every thing for which he chose to live, he thought it high time to part with life itself. Duhalde says, he wrote the following sentence on the border of his vest: "I have been basely deserted by my subjects: do what you will with me, but spare my people." Then he cut off his daughter's head with one stroke of his scymetar, and hanged himself. The traitor Li insulted his body, and murdered all his surviving children, except his eldest son, who escaped. U-sang-ghey, who commanded the imperial forces, in the province of Lyan-tong, instead of acknowledging the usurper, made peace with the Manchew Tartars, and their king, Tsong-te, joined him with fourscore thousand men. Li fled from Peking; and Tsong-te dying, was succeeded by his infant son, Sun-chi, who, in process of time ascended the imperial throne of China.

besides; they did not know how to manage them. Mandarin Schall left Pekin before the revolution.

After the emperor's death, the Tartars and the rebels disputed the empire with each other. The Tartars were united and disciplined, the Chinese divided and undisciplined. They were obliged to give way by little and little to the Tartars. That nation had taken a kind of spirit of superiority which did not depend upon their leader: it was with them as it had been with Mahomet's Arabians, who were so formidable of themselves for upwards of three hundred years.

The death of emperor Taitsong, whom the Tartars lost at that time, did not prevent them from pursuing their conquests. They chose one of his nephews, who was yet a child, in his stead: this was Chang-ti, father of the famous Camg-hi, under whom the Christian religion has made such a progress in China. These people, who had first taken up arms in defence of their liberty, were not acquainted with hereditary right. We see that all nations have begun by choosing persons to head them in war, and afterwards these chiefs have become absolute, excepting in some of the European nations. Hereditary right has been established and made sacred by time.

A minority has been the ruin of almost all conquerors, and yet it was during the minority of Chang-ti that the Tartars completed the reduction of China. The usurper, Litching, was slain by another Chinese usurper, who pretended to revenge the death of the late emperor. Several of the provinces set up true or false chil-

children of their dead prince, like the Demetrius's in Russia. The Chinese mandarins endeavoured to usurp the provinces; but the more powerful Tartarian usurpers at length got the better of all. There was a Chinese general, who for some time checked their progress, by having a few cannon which he had procured either from the Portuguese of Macao, or which were some of those cast by the Jesuit Schall. It is very remarkable that the Tartars, who were entirely destitute of artillery, should prevail over those who were provided with it: this was the very reverse of what happened in the new world, and a proof of the superiority of the northern people over those of the south.

What is most surprising is, that the Tartars conquered all this vast empire of China, foot by foot, and under a minority; for their young emperor Chang-ti, dying in 1661, when barely twenty-four years old, and before their dominion was firmly established, they elected his son Camg-hi at eight years old, being the same age at which they had chosen his father; and this Camg-hi restored the empire of China, having been so prudent and fortunate as to make himself equally well obeyed both by the Chinese and Tartars. The missionaries, whom he made mandarins, have extolled him as a perfect prince. Some travellers, and especially Le Gentil, who were not mandarins, say that he was sordidly covetous, and full of caprices; but these strokes of private character do not enter into this general picture of the world. It is sufficient that the empire was happy under this prince; it is in this view that we are to regard and judge of kings.

During the course of this revolution, which lasted thirty years, one of the greatest mortifications the Chinese underwent was, that their conquerors obliged them to cut off their hair after the Tartarian manner. There were some who chose to die rather than part with their heads of hair. We have had an instance of the Muscovites raising several seditions when czar Peter I. obliged them to cut off their beards; so forcible is custom among the common people!

Time has not yet confounded the victorious with the vanquished people, as has happened in our Gaul, in England, and elsewhere.

Under the reign of Camg-hi, the European missionaries enjoyed a great degree of credit; several were lodged in the emperor's palace; they built churches, and had opulent houses. In America they had been successful in teaching the necessary arts to savages. In China they had taught the most refined arts to a learned and sensible nation. But jealousy soon destroyed the fruits of their wisdom, and that restlessness and contentious spirit, which is in Europe inseparably connected with learning and talents, overthrew the greatest designs.

The Chinese were astonished to see wise and learned men disagreeing even about what they came to teach, and mutually persecuting and anathematizing one another, entering criminal processes against each other, at the court of Rome, and striving to have it decided in a meeting of cardinals, whether the emperor of China understood his own mother tongue as well as missionaries who were come from France and Italy.

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These disputes were carried to such a length, that the Chinese government feared or affected to fear the same disorders as had been raised in Japan. Camg-hi's successor therefore forbid the exercise of the christian religion, while the Mahometans and all the different sects of bonzes were permitted to follow theirs. But this court finding the want of the mathematics as great an evil as the pretended danger from a new religion, retained the mathematicians, and contented itself with imposing silence on the missionaries.

There is one event which well merits our attention; this is the famous earthquake which happened in China in the year 1699, in the reign of the emperor Camg-hi. This phenomenon proved more fatal than that which of late years destroyed the cities of Lima and Lisbon. It is said that near four hundred thousand souls perished in it. These shocks must necessarily have been very frequent in our globe: the number of volcano's which vomit out fire and smoke, give reason to think that the outward shell of the earth rests upon vast gulphs filled with an inflammable matter. It is probable that the part which we inhabit has experienced as many revolutions from physical causes, as the nations of the world in general have from rapaciousness and ambition.

C H A P. CLXV.

OF JAPAN, in the Seventeenth Century.

IN the multitude of revolutions which we have seen from one end of the universe to the other, there appears to have been a fated chain of causes by which mankind have been carried away, as the waves and sands are driven by the wind. What has happened in Japan is an additional proof of it: a Portuguese prince, without either power or riches, in the fifteenth century, conceives the notion of sending a few ships to the coast of Africa. Soon afterwards the Portuguese discover Japan. Spain, for a while the sovereign of Portugal, carries on an immense trade with the Japanese. The Christian religion is carried into that country by the means of this trade; and, under favour of the general toleration allowed to all sects in Asia, introduces and establishes itself there. Three Christian princes of Japan make a journey to Rome to kiss the feet of pope Gregory XIII. Christianity is on the point of becoming the prevailing religion of Japan, and in a short time the only one, when its very power proved the means of its destruction. We have already remarked, that the missionaries had a number of enemies there; but they had likewise secured a powerful party in their favour. The bonzes feared the loss of their ancient possessions, and the emperor that of his kingdom. The Spaniards had made themselves masters of the Philippine islands in the neighbourhood of Japan. The Japanese knew how they had acted

acted in America; no wonder therefore that they took the alarm. The emperor, in the year 1586, had banished the Christian religion from his dominions, and had forbidden the practice of it by his subjects, under pain of death; but as they still allowed a trade to be carried on with the Portuguese and Spaniards, their missionaries made proselytes as fast as the government condemned them. It was then forbidden to introduce any Christian priests into the country; but notwithstanding this prohibition, the governor of the Philippine islands sent Franciscan friars, in character of ambassadors to the emperor of Japan. These ambassadors began by building a public chapel in the capital city, called Meaco; upon which they were driven out of the kingdom, and the persecution was redoubled. There was for a long time a vicissitude of cruelties and indulgence. It is plain that reasons of state were the sole motives to these persecutions; and that the Christian religion was opposed from the apprehension that it would be made an instrument to favour the designs of the Spaniards; for the religion of Confucius was never persecuted by the Japanese, tho' introduced by a people of whom they were jealous, and with whom they were frequently at war. That learned and judicious observer, Kempfer, tells us, that in the year 1674 the inhabitants of Meaco being numbered, there were found twelve different religions in that capital, who all lived peaceably; and that these twelve sects contained upwards of four hundred thousand people, exclusive of the numerous court of the Dairi, the sovereign pontiff. It seems then, that if the Portuguese and Spaniards could have

contented themselves with liberty of conscience, they might have lived as quietly in Japan as the other twelve religions; and, even in the year 1636, they continued to carry on a very profitable trade, seeing that they carried over to Macao two thousand three hundred and fifty chests of silver.

The Dutch, who had traded to Japan ever since the year 1600, were grown jealous of the traffic carried on by the Spaniards. In 1637 they took a Spanish ship off the Cape of Good Hope, bound from Japan to Lisbon, on board of which they found several letters from a Portuguese officer named Moro, who was a kind of consul to that nation. These letters contained the plan of an intended conspiracy of the Christians in Japan against the emperor, specifying the number of ships and troops they expected from Europe and the settlements in Asia, in order to make the scheme succeed. These letters were sent by the Dutch to the court of Japan: Moro owned his hand-writing, and was publicly burnt. Upon this discovery the government chose rather to renounce all the advantages of a trade with strangers, than to see itself exposed to such machinations. The emperor, in an assembly of all the grandees of his kingdom, enacted the famous edict, by which it was enacted, that no Japanese should for the future presume to stir out of the country, under penalty of death; that no stranger should be admitted into the empire; that all the Spaniards and Portuguese be sent away; that all the natives who were Christians should be imprisoned, and that a reward of one thousand crowns

crowns should be given to any one who should discover a Christian priest. The violence of this procedure in the Japanese, who voluntarily separated themselves from the rest of the world, and gave up all the profits of trade, leaves no room to doubt that the conspiracy was real: but what proves it still more fully, is, that the Christian natives, with some few Portuguese at their head, actually assembled in arms to the number of thirty thousand and more; they were defeated in the year 1638, and retired to a strong hold on the sea-side, in the neighbourhood of the port of Nangazaki.

At the same time all other foreign nations were driven from Japan; even the Chinese were included in this general law, because some missionaries had boasted to the Japanese, that all China was on the point of being converted to Christianity. The Dutch themselves, who had discovered the conspiracy, were expelled as well as the rest; the factory which they had at that time at Ferando was already demolished; their ships were sailed; and only one remained, whom the government summoned to fire upon the fortress, whither the Christians had fled for refuge. The Dutch captain, whose name was Kokbeker, performed this horrid service. The Christians were soon forced in their asylum, and put to death with the most excruciating tortures. Once more let me observe, that when we represent to ourselves such strange events, caused in Japan by a Portuguese and a Dutch captain, we cannot but be convinced of the restless spirit of the Europeans, and of the destiny which influences all nations.

The odious service which the Dutch had performed for the Japanese government did not procure them that indulgence they expected from it, which was, to be allowed a free trade and settlements there; however, they obtained permission to land upon a little island near the port of Nangazaki, and there bring a fixed quantity of merchandize.

But they were obliged to trample upon the cross, and renounce all marks of Christianity, and likewise to swear that they were not of the same religion with the Portuguese, before they were admitted into this little island, where they live as it were in a prison; for as soon as they arrive the inhabitants take possession of their ships and goods, upon which they set a price. Thus, for the sake of getting money, they subject themselves every year to this confinement; and those who are kings at Batavia, and in the Molucca Islands, suffer themselves to be here treated as slaves: it is true, they are conducted from this little island to the emperor's court, and are honourably and courteously received wherever they come, but strictly guarded and observed. Their guides and their guards engage in a written oath, signed with their blood, to observe all the actions of the Dutch, and give an exact account of them.

It has been asserted in several books, that the Dutch abjured Christianity at Japan. This opinion had its source in the adventure of a Dutchman, who made his escape and lived for some time among the natives; but being discovered, in order to save his life he said he was no Christian, but a Dutchman. The government

ment of Japan has, since this revolution, forbid the building of vessels fit for going to sea; they have only long barks, worked with sails and oars, for trading to their islands. It is looked upon as the greatest of crimes for strangers to frequent the country; it seems that they are still in dread of the danger they have been in. This fear neither agrees with the courage of the nation, nor with the greatness of the empire; but the horror of the past has operated more with them than the fear of the future. The conduct of the Japanese has been, in every respect, that of a people generous, open, haughty, and extreme in their resolutions. At first they received strangers with cordiality; and when they thought themselves insulted and betrayed by them, they broke off all connections for ever.

When Colbert, that minister of immortal memory, first erected an East-India company in France, he wanted to try if he could not bring about a trade for the French with Japan, by employing only protestants, who might safely swear that they were not of the same religion with the Portuguese; but the Dutch opposed this scheme, and the Japanese, satisfied with receiving one nation amongst them whom they treat as prisoners, would not admit of two *.

I shall

* The reader will perceive that this is a very imperfect picture of Japan, as our author has said nothing relating to the constitution of the government, the laws of the realm, and the genius of the people. Absolute power was, from time immemorial, exercised by the emperors called Dairo, who reigned in a regular succession till the year 1500, when

I shall not take any notice here of the kingdom of Siam, which has been represented to us as much larger and more opulent than it really is. We shall find in the age of Lewis XIV. what little is necessary to be known concerning it. Corea, Cochin-China, Tonquin, Laos, Ava, and Pegu, are countries of which we have very little knowledge; and, amidst the prodigious number of islands scattered about the extremities of Asia, there is only that of Java, where the Dutch have fixed the center of their dominion and trade, that can enter into the plan of our general history. The same may be said of the people who inhabit the middle part of Africa, and an infinite number of smaller nations in the new world. I shall only

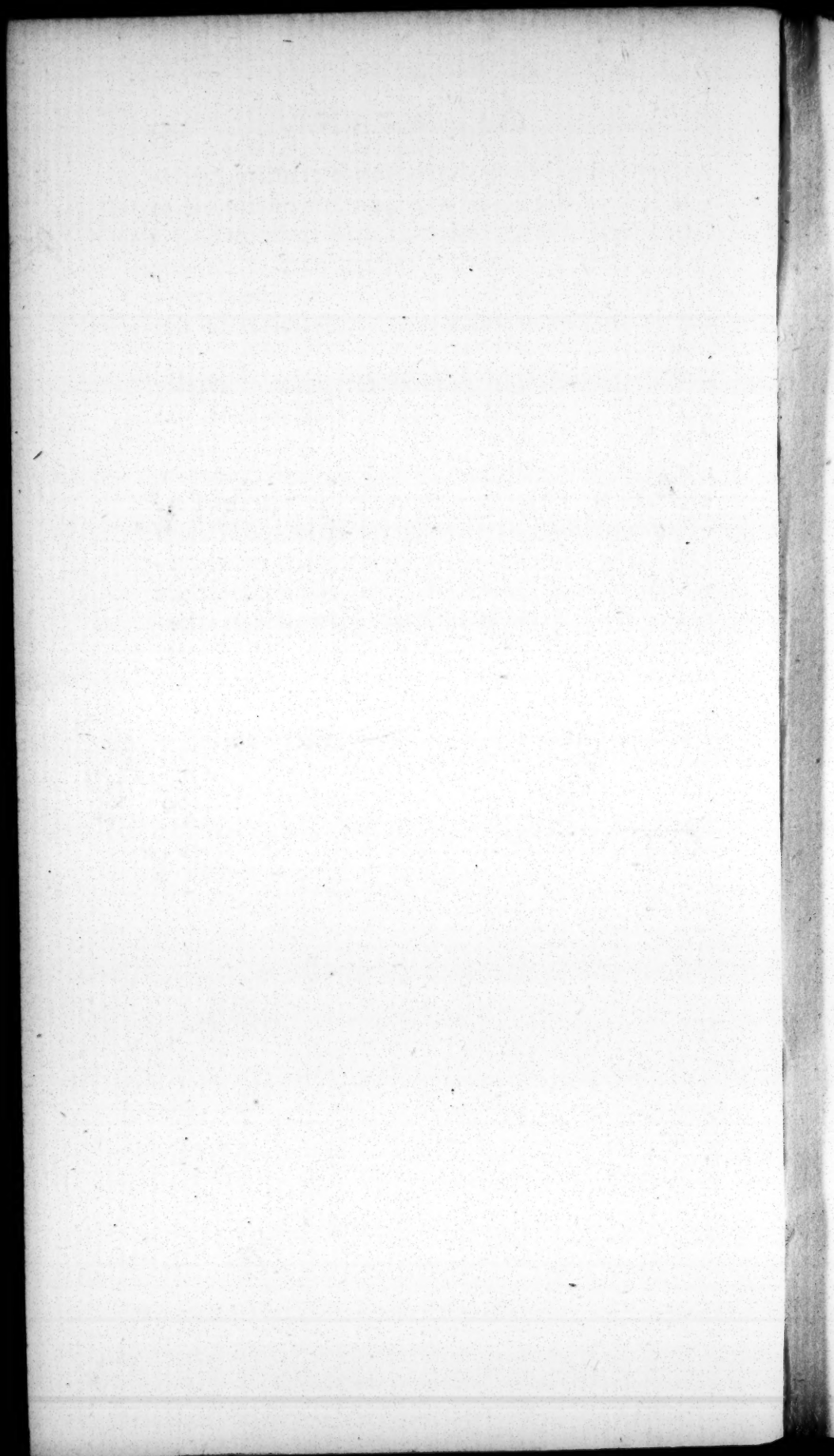
a civil war broke out and involved the whole empire in confusion: during this anarchy, a common soldier raised himself to the imperial dignity, and divesting the Dairo of all his temporal power, allowed him to preside over all religious matters. Since that period the successors of the Dairo have been respected as popes; but the descendants from the usurper have retained all the authority of emperor, though they are modest enough to call themselves Cubo, which signifies minister or vizir. The national religion of Japan is the idolatry of the Bonzes; but a great number of other sects are tolerated: yet all these sects agree in holding five restrictions absolutely binding, viz. not to kill, nor eat any thing that is killed; not to steal; not to commit adultery; not to lye; and not to drink wine. The Japanese have few written laws; but the emperor's will is the supreme law; and every petty prince, governor, or head of a family, has the power of life and death over those that he governs. The Japanese are acute, ingenious, industrious, modest, patient, and covetous; but on the other hand, they are said to be ambitious, cruel and vindictive, uncharitable, unfeeling, and addicted to the most spurious passions, which they publicly gratify with impunity.

observe,

observe, that before the sixteenth century, above one half of the globe was ignorant of the use of bread and wine, which is still unknown to a part of America and the eastern part of Africa; insomuch that we are obliged to carry both those viands thither to celebrate the mysteries of our religion.

Cannibals are much more rare than is usually asserted; none have been seen by any of our travellers for above these fifty years. There are many kinds of men manifestly different from each other. Several nations still live in the state of pure nature; and while we make the tour of the world to discover in their countries where-withal to satisfy our greediness, these people are not at the trouble of informing themselves whether there exist any other men than themselves, and pass their lives in a happy indolence, which to us would be a degree of misery.

Much yet remains for our vain curiosity to discover; but if we would confine ourselves to what is useful, there is already but too much discovered.



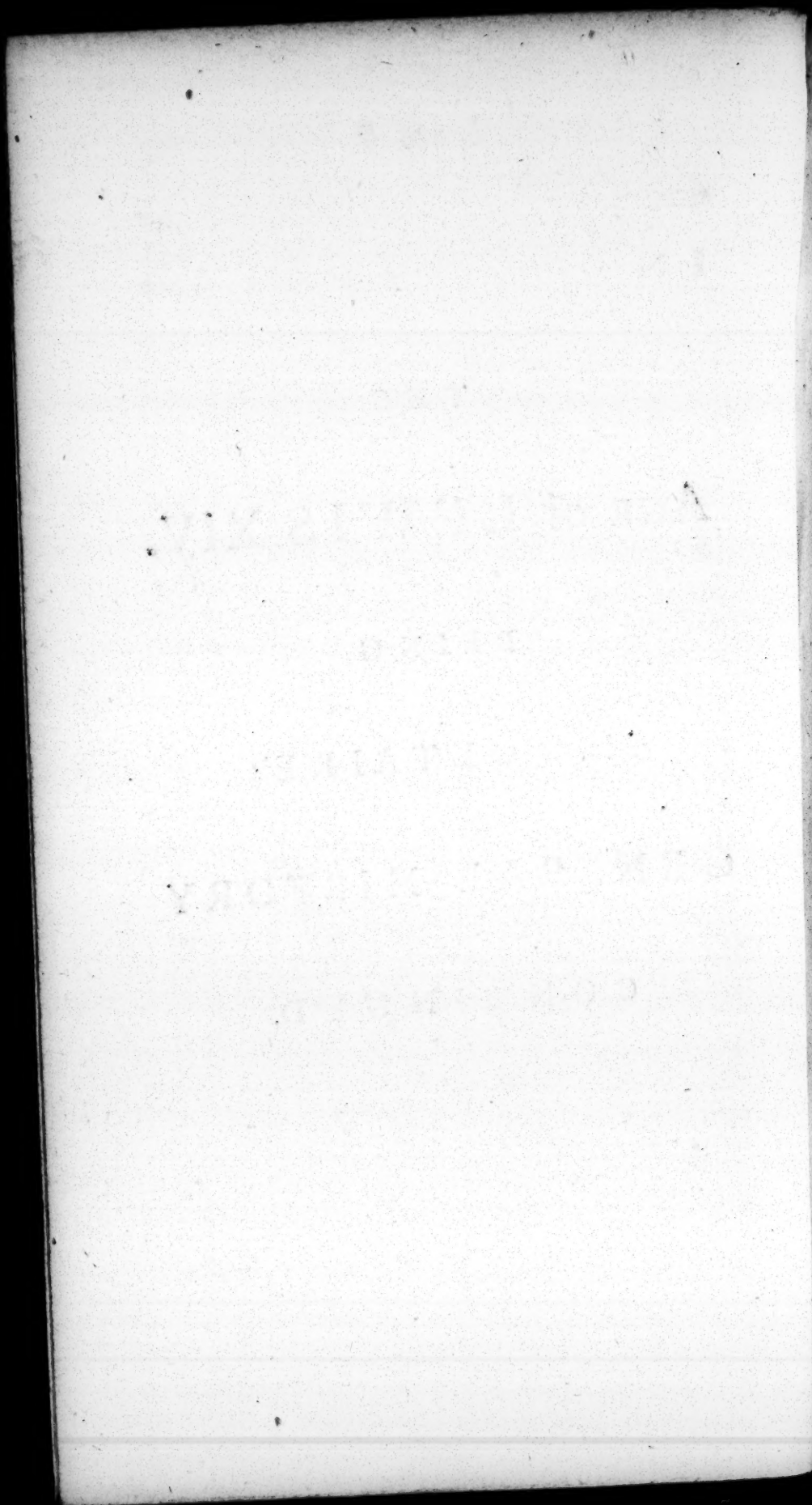
THE
AGE of LEWIS XIV.

BEING

Mr. VOLTAIRE's

GENERAL HISTORY

CONTINUED.



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

AGE of LEWIS XIV.

IT is not only the LIFE OF LEWIS XIV. that we propose to write; we have a greater object in view. We mean to set before posterity not only the portrait of one man's actions, but of the spirit of mankind in general, in the most enlightened of all ages.

Every age has produced heroes and politicians; all nations have experienced revolutions, and all histories are nearly alike, to those who seek only to furnish their memories with facts; but whosoever thinks, or, what is still more rare, whosoever has taste, will find but four ages in the history of the world. These four happy ages are those in which the arts were carried to perfection; and which, by serving as the æra of the greatness of the human mind, are examples for posterity.

The first of these ages to which true glory is annexed, is that of Philip and Alexander, or that of a Pericles, a Demosthenes, an Aristotle, a Plato, an Apelles, a Phidias, and a Praxiteles; and this honour has been confined within the limits of ancient Greece; the rest of the known world was then in a state of barbarism.

The

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The second age is that of Cæsar and Augustus, distinguished likewise by the names of Lucretius, Cicero, Titus Livius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Varro, and Vitruvius.

The third is that which followed the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. Then a family of private citizens was seen to do that which the kings of Europe ought to have undertaken. The Medicis invited to Florence the learned, who had been driven out of Greece by the Turks; this was the age of Italy's glory. The polite arts had already recovered a new life in that country; the Italians honoured them with the title of Vertu, as the first Greeks had distinguished them by the name of Wisdom. Every thing tended towards perfection; a Michael Angelo*, a Raphael†, a Titian‡, a Tasso, and

* Michael Angelo Buonaroti flourished in the fifteenth century, and was universally admired for his excellence in the three sister-arts, of painting, statuary, and architecture. He was born of a good family in the county of Arezzo, studied design or drawing under Dominicho Ghirlandajo, and at the age of sixteen began to cut statues in marble, that even bore a comparison with the antique. He was patronized by Laurentio de Medicis at Florence, that great patron of the arts. After the death of Laurentio he went to Rome, where he distinguished himself by many capital performances. He was the most perfect anatomist of his time; had a grand gusto in design, and excelled all his contemporaries in painting naked figures; but his manner was dry, and in every other branch of the art he fell far short of Raphael, whose genius excited his envy. His most famous picture is that of the last judgment; and his masterpiece in architecture the celebrated church of St. Peter. In order to expose the false taste of those who would allow no merit to modern artists, he privately finished the statue of a Cupid, and buried it under ground, in a place which he knew

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and an Ariosto flourished. The art of engraving was invented; elegant architecture appeared again

knew would soon be dug, after having broke off and reserved one of the arms. The statue was accordingly found, and judged by all the connoisseurs to be a genuine antique: then the artist produced the arm, and claimed the honour of the work. He made the model of a colossal statue for pope Julius II. with such a haughty countenance and commanding attitude, that the pontiff asked whether he had raised the right arm in the act of bestowing the benediction, or denouncing the anathema? He replied, that he was in the attitude of warning the people of Bologna to be more prudent for the future. Then he asked in his turn, if he should put a book in this right-hand? "No, (said the pope) put a sword in it, I don't pretend to be a man of letters." Michael Angelo was not only painter, statuary, and architect, but likewise a tolerable poet, and his works were published at Florence. The following distich is no bad representation of his character.

*Quis pinxit melius, quis struxit, duxit in ære,
Marmora quis sculpsit, doctius aut cecinit?*

He was respected and beloved by Leo X. Clement VII. and a succession of popes, as well as by all the civilized princes of his time, Francis I. of France, Charles V. emperor of Germany and king of Spain, Cosmo de Medicis, the Venetian republic, and even Solyman the grand signor. He lived to the age of ninety, died at Rome in 1564, and was interred with great funeral pomp at Florence.

† Raphael D'Urbino, whose real name was Sanzio, lived cotemporary with Buonaroti, and excelled him in composition, beauty, grace, and expression. He was the son of a painter at Urbino, and studied under Pietro Perugino, whose manner however he renounced, as soon as he beheld the works of Leonardi da Vinci and Michael Angelo at Florence. He was recommended to pope Leo X. by his kinsman Bramante, and employed in painting the apartments of the Vatican, where the first picture he finished was the school of Athens. The greatness of his manner he is said to have stolen from sketches of Buonaroti in the chapel of Sixtus IV. to which his friend Bramante introduced him privately,

again as admirable as in the most triumphant ages of Rome; and the Gothic barbarism, which had

privately, against the express prohibition of Michael Angelo. Certain it is, he became the prince of painters, was caressed by all the world, and when he went abroad he always appeared attended by a concourse of men of taste and literature. Buonaroti meeting him one day accompanied in this manner, told him he walked with a retinue like the provost-marshal; "And you (said Raphael) walk all alone like the executioner of the law." Buonaroti was in his disposition proud, haughty, and insolent; whereas Raphael recommended himself to every body's affection, by his affability, generosity, and sweetness of demeanour. The cardinal of St. Bibiano offered him his niece in marriage; but, he expected a hat for himself from pope Leo, and in the mean time died in the thirty-seventh year of his age, in consequence of a fever said to be caught by intemperate venery. He was buried in the rotunda, where his tomb is distinguished by the following epitaph, which cardinal Bembo wrote, and Mr. Pope has translated into English, in honour of Sir Godfrey Kneller.

*Ille hic est Raphael, timuit quo sospite vinci
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori.*

Living, great nature fear'd he would outvie
Her works; and dying, fears herself will die.

The sentiment is truly bombast. Another epitaph, but one degree more modest, was written on Raphael by the celebrated Muretus.

† Titian Vecelli was born in the state of Venice, in the year 1477, and studied painting under Bellini, whom he soon surpassed, as he also did Giorgione. His pictures were greatly admired for his exquisite manner of colouring. He refused a considerable employment at Rome, and was created knight and count-palatine by the emperor Charles V. who sitting one day for his picture, Titian chanced to drop his pencil; which Charles took up, and presenting it to the artist, "Titian (said he) is worthy to be served even by Cæsar." He was also visited and care-
sed

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had disfigured Europe in every kind of production, was driven from Italy to make way for good taste.

The arts, always transplanted from Greece to Italy, found themselves in a favourable soil, where they instantly produced fruit. France, England, Germany, and Spain, aimed in their turns to gather these fruits; but either they could not live in those climates, or else they degenerated very fast.

Francis I. encouraged learned men, but such as were merely learned men; he had architects, but he had no Michael Angelo, nor Paladio*; he endeavoured in vain to establish schools for painting; the Italian masters, whom he invited to France, raised no pupils there. Some epigrams, and a few loose tales, made the whole of our poetry. Rabelais† was the only prose writer in vogue in the time of Henry II.

In

fed by Henry III. of France; and celebrated by Ariosto, Marini, and other poets. In a word, he lived in great splendour, and died of the plague in the year 1576.

* Andrea Palladio was a native of Vicenza, and flourished in the sixteenth century. He finished his studies at Rome, where he made himself master of the antique, and became the greatest architect in the world. He first published a commentary on all the works of antiquity at Rome; and in the year 1570 printed his four books on architecture, replete with taste and erudition.

† Francis Rabelais, born at Chinon in Touraine, lived in the sixteenth century. He was first a Cordelier, and afterwards a physician. He distinguished himself by his knowledge of the languages; but his chief recommendation was his humour. He published a Latin translation of the aphorisms of Hippocrates, and several other serious performances, which are now forgotten: but his history of Pantagruel is still admired by all those who have any taste for humour.

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In a word, the Italians alone were in possession of every thing that was beautiful, excepting music, which was then but in a rude state, and experimental philosophy, which was every where equally unknown.

Lastly, the fourth age is that known by the name of the age of Lewis XIV. and is perhaps that which approaches the nearest to perfection of all the four; enriched by the discoveries of the three former ones, it has done greater things in certain kinds than those three together. All the arts indeed were not carried farther than under the Medicis, Augustus, and Alexander; but human reason in general was more improved. In this age we first became acquainted with sound philosophy; it may truly be said that to begin from the last years of cardinal Richelieu's administration, till those which followed the death of Lewis XIV. that there has happened such a general revolution in our arts, our genius, our manners, and even in our government, that will serve as an immortal mark to the true

humour and satire. He was celebrated by all the wits of his time, such as Buda; Clement Marot, du Bellay, and de Baif. He died at the age of seventy, in the year 1553, and was honoured with divers epitaphs, of which the following seems to be the best adapted.

*Pluton, prince du noir empire,
Ou les tiens ne rient jamais,
Reçois aujourd'hui Rabelais,
Et vous aurez tous de quoi rire.*

He was a favourite with La Fontaine, who being one day in company with the two Boileaus and Racine, when the conversation turned upon St. Augustine, he seemed to wake from a profound reverie, and turning to Boileau the doctor, asked very gravely, if he thought Rabelais was not a greater wit than St. Augustine?

glory

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glory of our country. This happy influence has not been confined to France; it has communicated itself to England, where it has stirred up an emulation, which that ingenious and deeply learned nation stood in need of at that time; it has introduced taste into Germany, and the sciences into Russia; it has even re-animated Italy, which was languishing; and Europe is indebted for its politeness and spirit of society to the court of Lewis XIV.

Before this time the Italians called all the people on this side the Alps by the name of Barbarians; it must be owned, that the French in some degree deserved this reproachful epithet. Our forefathers joined the romantic gallantry of the Moors with the Gothic rudeness: they had hardly any of the agreeable arts amongst them, which is a proof that the useful arts were likewise neglected; for when once the things of use are carried to perfection, the transition is quickly made to the elegant and the agreeable; and it is not at all astonishing, that painting, sculpture, poetry, eloquence, and philosophy, should be in a manner unknown to a nation, who, tho' possessed of harbours on the Western Ocean, and the Mediteranean Sea, were without ships; and who, though fond of luxury to an excess, were hardly provided with the most common manufactures.

The Jews, the Genoese, the Venetians, the Portuguese, the Flemish, the Dutch, and the English, carried on in their turns the trade of France, who was ignorant even of the first principles of commerce. Lewis XIII. at his accession to the crown had not a single ship; the city of Paris contained not quite four hundred

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dred thousand men, and had not above four fine public edifices; the other cities of the kingdom resembled those pitiful villages which we see on the other side the Loire. The nobility, who were all stationed in the country, in dungeons surrounded with deep ditches, oppressed the peasant who cultivated the land. The high roads were almost impassable; the towns were destitute of police, and the government had hardly ever any credit among foreign nations.

We must acknowledge, that ever since the decline of the Carlovingian family, France had languished more or less in this infirm state, merely for want of the benefit of a good administration.

For a state to be powerful, the people must either enjoy a liberty founded on the laws, or the royal authority must be fixed beyond all opposition. In France the people were slaves till the reign of Philip Augustus; the noblemen were tyrants till Lewis XI; and the kings, always employed in maintaining their authority against their vassals, had neither leisure to think about the happiness of their subjects, nor the power of making them happy.

Lewis XI. did a great deal for the regal power, but nothing for the happiness or glory of the nation. Francis I. gave birth to trade, navigation, and all the arts; but he was too unfortunate to make them take root in the nation during his time, so that they all perished with him. Henry the Great was on the point of raising France from the calamities and barbarisms in which she had been plunged by thirty years of discord, when he was assassinated in
his

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his capital, in the midst of a people whom he had begun to make happy. The cardinal de Richelieu, busied in humbling the house of Austria, the Calvinists, and the grandees, did not enjoy a power sufficiently undisturbed to reform the nation; but he had at least the honour of beginning this happy work.

Thus, for the space of 900 years, our genius has been almost always restrained under a Gothic government, in the midst of divisions and civil wars; destitute of any laws or fixed customs, changing, every second century, a language, which still continued rude and unformed; the nobles were without discipline, and strangers to every thing but war and idleness. The clergy lived in disorder and ignorance, and the common people without industry, and stupified in their wretchedness.

The French had no share either in the great discoveries, or admirable inventions of other nations: they have no title to the discoveries of painting, gun-powder, glasses, telescopes, the sector, compass, the air-pump, or the true system of the universe; they were making tournaments, while the Portuguese and Spaniards were discovering and conquering new countries from the east to the west of the known world. Charles V. had already scattered the treasures of Mexico over Europe, before the subjects of Francis I. had discovered the uncultivated country of Canada; but, by the little which the French did in the beginning of the sixteenth century, we may see what they are capable of when properly conducted.

I propose in this place to shew what they have
been

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been under Lewis XIV. and it is to be wished that the posterity of this monarch, and that of his subjects, equally animated with an happy emulation, may use their endeavours to surpass their ancestors.

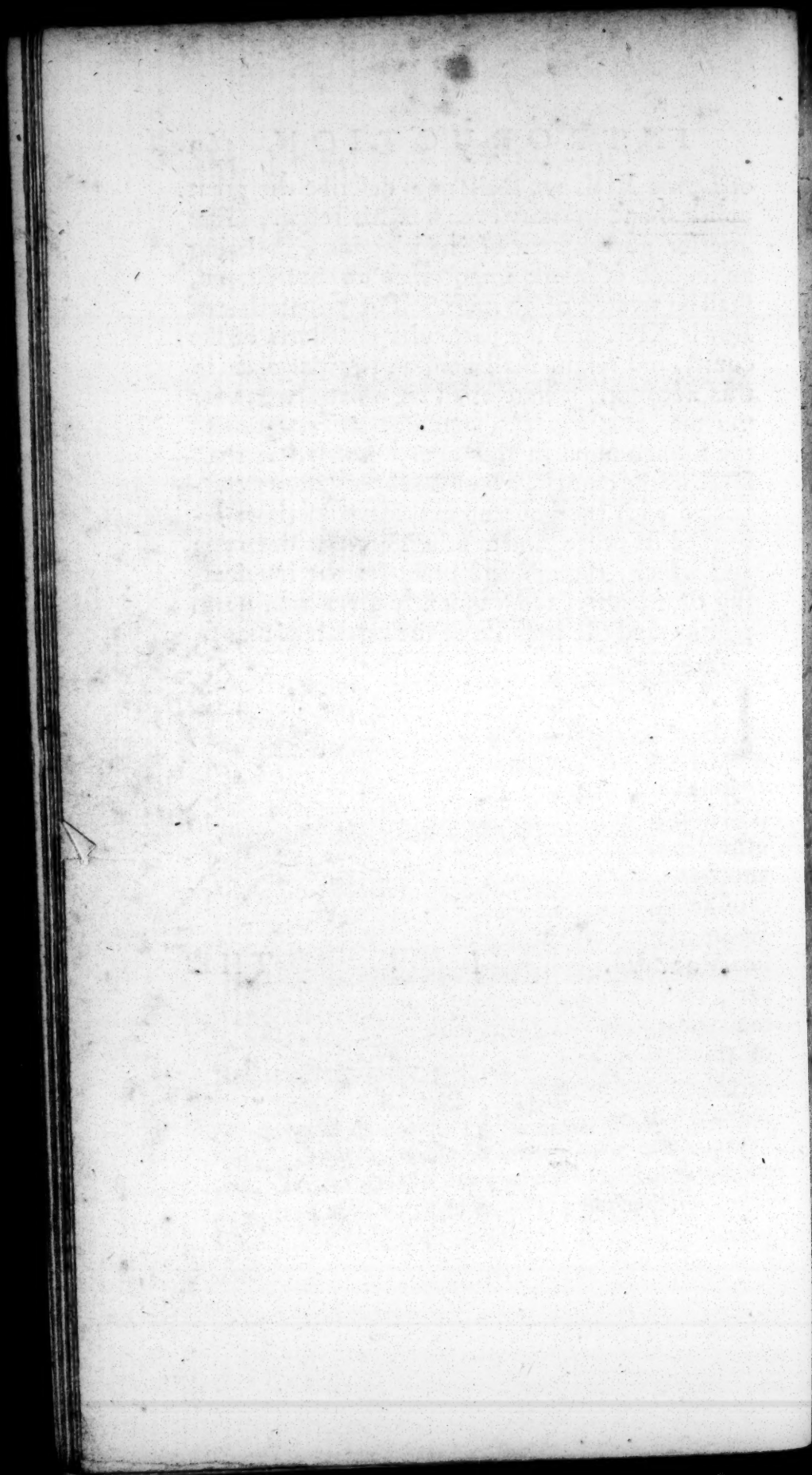
It must not be expected to meet here with a minute detail of the wars carried on in this age: this would be an endless task; we are obliged to leave to the compilers of annals, the care of collecting, with exactness, all these small facts, which would only serve to divert the attention from the principal object. It is their province to point out the marches and counter-marches of armies, and the particular days on which the trenches were opened before towns, which were taken and retaken again by force of arms, or ceded and restored by treaties. A thousand circumstances which are interesting to those who live at the time, are lost to the eyes of posterity, and disappear, to make room for the great events which have determined the fate of empires*. Every transaction is not worthy of being committed to writing. In this history we shall confine ourselves only to what is deserving of the attention of all ages, what paints the genius and manners of mankind, contributes to instruction, and prompts to the love of virtue, of the arts, and of our country.

We have already seen what France and the other kingdoms of Europe were, before the birth

* Yet those very events, the recital of which our author seems to despise, have not only influenced the destiny of empires, but even strongly marked the character and understanding of the times in which they happened.

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of Lewis XIV. we shall now describe the great political and military events of his reign. The interior government of the kingdom, as being an object of more importance to the people, shall be treated of by itself. The private life of Lewis XIV. and the particular anecdotes of his court, and reign, shall hold a principal place in this account. There shall be other articles for the arts and sciences, and for the progress of the human mind in this age. Lastly, we shall speak of the church, which has been so long connected with the government, has sometimes disturbed its peace, and at others been its defence; and which, though instituted for the inculcating of morality, too frequently gives itself up to politics and the impulse of the human passions.



THE
AGE of LEWIS XIV.

CH A P. CLXVI.

Of the STATES of EUROPE before
LEWIS XIV.

FOR a long time past the Christian part of Europe (Muscovy excepted) might be considered as a great republic divided into several states, some of which were monarchical, others mixt, some aristocratical, and others popular; but all corresponding with one another; all having the same basis of religion, though divided into several sects, and acknowledging the same principles of public and political equity, which were unknown to the other parts of the world. It is from these principles that the European nations do not make slaves of their prisoners; that they respect the persons of their enemies ambassadors; that they agree together concerning the pre-eminence, and some other rights belonging to certain princes; such as the emperor, kings, and other lesser potentates: and particularly in the prudent policy of preserving, as far as they are able, an equal

ballance of power between themselves ; by continually carrying on negotiations even in the midst of war, and keeping ambassadors, or less honourable spies at each other's courts, to give notice to the rest, of the designs of any single one, to sound the alarm at once over all Europe, and to prevent the weaker side from being invaded by the stronger, who is always ready to attempt it.

After the death of Charles V. the ballance of power inclined too much on the side of the house of Austria. This powerful house was, in the year 1630, mistress of Spain, Portugal, and the riches of America ; the Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, the kingdoms of Naples, Bohemia, Hungary, and even Germany, (if we may so say) were become a part of its patrimony : and had all these states been united under one single head of this house, it is reasonable to believe, that he would, at length, have become master of all Europe.

OF GERMANY.

THE empire of Germany is the most powerful neighbour which France has ; it is nearly of the same extent ; there is not, perhaps, so much money in it, but it abounds more with sturdy men, inured to labour. The Germanic nation is governed, with a very little difference, as France was under the first kings of the Capetian race, who were chiefs of several great vassals, by whom they were frequently very ill obeyed, and of a great number of lesser ones. There are sixty free cities, called imperial ; about as many secular princes ; near forty eccle-

ecclesiastical ones, as well abbots as bishops, nine electors, amongst whom we may reckon four kings ; and lastly, the emperor, who is head of all these potentates : these at present compose this great Germanic body, which, by the phlegmatic disposition of its members, is maintained in as much order and regularity * as there was formerly confusion in the French government.

Each member of the empire has his particular rights, privileges, and obligations ; and the knowledge of such a number of laws, which are frequently disputed, makes, what is called in Germany, “ The study of the public law,” for which that nation is so famous.

The emperor himself should not in fact be much more powerful or rich than a doge of Venice. You know that Germany being divided into cities and principalities, nothing is left for the chief of such a number of states, but the pre-eminence, accompanied with the supreme honours, without either demesnes or money, and consequently without power. He does not possess a single village in virtue of his title of emperor. Nevertheless this dignity, often as vain as supreme, has become so powerful in the hands of the Austrians, that it has been frequently feared that they would convert this republic of princes into an absolute monarchy.

* Witness the present war, and the past. We apprehend our author might have compared Germany with more propriety, to the heptarchy of the Saxons, a confederacy of independent states, which choose a president or chief, investing him with a supreme authority to be exercised for the good of the community : but this authority is acquired by election, not enjoyed by hereditary right.

The christian part of Europe, especially Germany, was then, and still is divided into two parties or sects. The first is, that of the catholics, who are all more or less subject to the authority of the pope. The other, that of the enemies to the spiritual and temporal power of the pontiff, and the prelates of the church of Rome. These latter are called by the general name of protestants, though divided into Lutherans, Calvinists, and other sects, who all hate one another as much as they do the church of Rome.

In Germany, the states of Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, a part of Bohemia and Hungary, the houses of Brunswick and Wirtemberg followed the Lutheran religion, which is by them called the evangelical. All the free cities of the empire have likewise embraced this sect, as seemingly more agreeable to a people jealous of their liberty than the religion of the church of Rome.

The Calvinists, who are scattered amongst the Lutherans, form but an inconsiderable party. The Roman Catholics constitute the rest of the empire; and having at their head the house of Austria, they were without doubt the most powerful.

Not only Germany but all the christian states were still bleeding with the wounds of the many religious wars in which they had been engaged; a madness peculiar to christians, and unknown to idolaters, and which was the fatal consequence of that dogmatic turn, which had for so long a time been introduced among all ranks of people. Almost every point of controversy occasioned a civil war; and foreign
na-

nations, (nay perhaps our own posterity) will one day be at a loss to comprehend how their ancestors could have thus mutually butchered each other, while they were preaching up the doctrine of patience.

I have already shewn how near Ferdinand II. was to changing the German aristocracy into an absolute monarchy, and how he was on the point of being dethroned by Gustavus Vasa. His son, Ferdinand III. who inherited his politics, and like him made war from his cabinet, swayed the imperial sceptre during the minority of Lewis XIV.

Germany was not then so flourishing as it has since become. Not only every kind of luxury was wholly unknown there, but even the conveniences of life were very scarce in the houses of the greatest noblemen, till the year 1686, when they were introduced by the French refugees, who retired thither and set up their manufactories. This fruitful and well peopled country was destitute both of trade and money: the gravity of manners, and slowness peculiar to the Germans, deprived them of those pleasures and agreeable arts which the more penetrating Italians had cultivated for many years, and which the French industry began now to carry to perfection. The Germans, though rich at home, were poor every where else; and this poverty, added to the difficulty of uniting in a short time, so many different people under one standard, made it impossible for them to carry the war into their neighbours dominions, or support it there for any time, nearly as at this day. Accordingly, we almost always find the French carrying on a war against the em-

pire within the empire. The difference of government and genius make the French more proper for attacking, and the Germans for acting on the defensive.

OF SPAIN.

THE Spanish nation, governed by the elder branch of the house of Austria, after the death of Charles V. had made itself more formidable to Europe than the Germanic empire. The kings of Spain were infinitely more absolute and rich than the emperors: and the mines of Mexico and Peru furnished them with treasures sufficient to purchase the liberties of Europe. You have already seen the project of universal monarchy, or rather universal superiority on the Christian continent, begun by Charles V. and carried on by Philip II.

The Spanish greatness under Philip II. became a vast body without substance, which had more reputation than real strength.

Philip IV. who inherited his father's weakness, lost Portugal by his neglect; Roussillon by the inferiority of his arms; and Catalonia by the abuse of his absolute authority. Such princes could not long continue successful in their wars against France. If our errors and divisions gave them some few advantages, they soon lost the fruits of them by their own want of capacity. Besides, they had a people to command whose privileges gave them a right to serve ill. The Castilians, for instance, had a privilege by which they were exempted from serving out of their own country. The Arragonians were continually opposing their liberties

ties to the orders of the king's council; and the Cätalans, who looked upon their kings as their enemies, would not even suffer them to raise militia in their provinces.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Spain, by being united to the empire, threw a very formidable weight into the balance of Europe.

OF PORTUGAL.

AT this time Portugal was again made a kingdom. John duke of Braganza, who passed for a weak prince, had wrested this province from a king who was weaker than himself. The Portuguese, through necessity, cultivated trade, which the Spaniards through pride neglected, and had lately, (in the year 1641) entered into a league with the French and Dutch against Spain. France gained more by the revolution in Portugal than she could have done by the most signal victories. The French ministry, without having in the least contributed to this event, reaped without any trouble the greatest advantage that can be wished for over an enemy; that of seeing him attacked by an irreconcilable power.

Portugal, who thus threw off the Spanish yoke, extended its trade, and augmented its power, puts us in mind of Holland, which enjoyed the same advantages, though in a very different manner.

Of the UNITED PROVINCES.

THIS small state, composed of seven united provinces, a country abounding in excellent pasturage, but destitute of all kind of grain, unhealthy, and in a manner buried in the sea, was for about half a century almost the only example in the world, of what may be done by the love of liberty and unwearied labour. These poor people, few in number, and inferior in military discipline to the meanest of the Spanish militia, and of no account in the rest of Europe, made head against the whole collected force of their master and tyrant Philip II. eluded the designs of several princes who offered to assist them, in hopes of enslaving them, and founded a power which we have seen counterbalancing that of Spain itself. The desperation which tyranny inspires first armed these people; liberty raised their courage, and the princes of the house of Orange made them excellent soldiers. No sooner were they become conquerors of their masters, than they established a form of government which preserves as far as is possible, equality, the most natural right of mankind.

This state of so new a kind was from its first foundation intimately attached to France: they were united by interest, and had the same enemies. Henry the Great, and Lewis XIII. had been its allies and protectors.

OF ENGLAND.

ENGLAND, a far more powerful state, arrogated to itself the sovereignty of the seas, and pretended to preserve a ballance between the powers of Europe; but Charles I. who began his reign in 1625, was so far from being able to support the weight of this ballance, that he found the sceptre already falling through his hands: he had attempted to render his power independent of the laws of England, and to make a change in the religion of Scotland. He was too headstrong to be diverted from his projects, and too weak to carry them into execution. He was the good husband, the good master, the good father, and the honest man*; but an ill advised prince: he engaged in a civil war, which lost him his throne, and made him end his life on a scaffold, by an unparalleled revolution.

This civil war, which was begun in the minority of Lewis XIV. prevented England for some time from taking part in her neighbours concerns: she lost her credit in Europe, with

* We should be glad to know how he could be a good man that endeavoured to render himself absolute and independent of the laws of his country. Mr. de Voltaire would have done more justice to the character of Charles, had he said that monarch was too jealous of his prerogative, upon which he imagined the commons wanted to intrench; and did not sufficiently advert to the extent of the privileges of the people. That he should be mistaken in these particulars, is not at all surprising, when we conjecture that the bounds of prerogative and privilege were not at that period ascertained,

her quiet at home; her trade was obstructed, and other nations looked upon her as buried beneath her own ruins, till the time that she at once became more formidable than ever, under the rule of Cromwell, who had enslaved her with the gospel in one hand, the sword in the other, and the mask of religion on his face; and who in his administration concealed, under the qualities of a great king, all the crimes of an usurper.

OF ROME.

THE ballance which England had so long flattered itself with the hopes of keeping up by its superior power, Rome endeavoured to maintain by its politics. Italy was divided as it now is into several sovereignties; that which is possessed by the pope is sufficiently great to render him respectable as a prince, and too small to make him formidable. The nature of the government does not contribute to the peopling of his country, which also has very little trade or money. His spiritual authority, which is always mixed with something of the temporal, is slighted and abhorred by one half of Christendom: and though he is considered as a father by the other half, yet he has some children who resist his will at times with reason and success. It is the maxim of the French government to look upon him as a sacred but enterprising person, whose hands must sometimes be tied, though they kiss his feet. We still see in all the catholic countries the traces of those steps which the court of Rome has frequently made towards universal monarchy.

narchy. All the princes of the Romish religion, upon their accession, send an embassy to the pope, which is termed the embassy of obedience. Every crowned head has a cardinal at his court, who takes the name of protector. The pope grants bulls for filling up all vacant bishopricks, and expresses himself in these bulls as if he conferred these dignities by his own pure authority. All the Italian, Spanish, Flemish, and even some of the French bishops, stile themselves bishops by the divine permission, and that of the holy see. There is no kingdom in which he has not several benefices in his nomination; and he receives as a tribute the first years revenues of consistorial benefices.

The religious orders, whose principals reside at Rome, are again so many immediate subjects to the pontiff, scattered over all states. Custom, which does every thing, and which occasions the world to be governed by abuses as by laws, has not always permitted princes to put an entire stop to this danger, which in other respects is connected with things useful and sacred. To swear allegiance to any other than the sovereign is a crime of high treason in a layman; but in a convent it is a religious act. The difficulty of knowing how far we are to carry our obedience to this foreign sovereign, the ease with which we suffer ourselves to be seduced, the pleasure there is in throwing off a natural yoke for a voluntary one, the spirit of discord and the unhappiness of the times, have but too often prevailed on whole bodies of religious orders to serve the cause of Rome against their own country.

The

The enlightened spirit which has reigned in France for this century past, and which has communicated itself to people of all ranks, has proved the most effectual remedy against this abuse. The excellent books which have been written on this subject, have done real service both to kings and people ; and one of the great changes which was wrought by this means in our manners, under the reign of Lewis XIV. is, that the religious of all kinds begin now to be persuaded that they should be subject to their king, before they are servants to the pope. The juridical power, which is the essential mark of sovereignty, still remains with the Roman pontiff ; and even the French government, notwithstanding all the liberties of the Gallican church, allows a final appeal to the pope in all ecclesiastical causes.

If any one is desirous of obtaining a divorce, of marrying a near relation, or of being released from their vows, application is to be made to the court of Rome, and not to the bishop of the diocese ; there all indulgencies are rated, and the individuals of all states may from thence purchase dispensations at all prices.

These advantages, which are by many people looked upon as the consequences of the greatest abuse, and by others as the remains of the most sacred rights, are always artfully preserved ; and modern Rome employs as much policy in keeping up its credit as the ancient republic did in conquering one half of the known world.

No court ever knew better how to act agreeable to men and times. The popes are almost always Italians, grown grey in public affairs,
and

and divested of those passions which make men blind to their interest; their council is composed of cardinals, who resemble them, and who are all animated with the same spirit. This council issues mandates, which reach as far as China, and the extremes of America, in which sense it may be said to take in the whole universe; and we may say of it as a stranger formerly said of the Roman senate: "I have beheld an assembly of kings." Most of our writers have with reason inveighed against the ambition of this court; but I do not find one who has done sufficient justice to its prudence; neither do I know if any other nation could have so long maintained itself in the possession of so many privileges continually contested; any other court might probably have lost them, either by its haughtiness, its effeminacy, its sloth, or its vivacity; but that of Rome, by an almost constant proper use of resolution and concession, has preserved all that was humanly possible for her to preserve. We have seen her submissive to Charles V. terrible to our King, Henry III. the friend and the foe by turns to Henry IV. acting cunningly with Lewis XIII. openly opposing Lewis XIV. at a time when he was to be feared; and frequently a private enemy to the emperors, of whom she was more distrustful than even of the Turkish sultan.

Some rights, many pretensions, politics, and patience, are all that Rome has now left of that ancient power which six centuries ago attempted to subject the empire and all Europe to the triple crown.

Na-

Naples is still an existing proof of that right which the popes formerly assumed with so much art and parade, of creating and bestowing kingdoms; but the king of Spain, who is the present possessor of that kingdom, has only left the court of Rome the dangerous honour of having an overpowerful vassal.

Of the rest of ITALY.

AS for the rest, the pope's dominions were situated in a peaceable country, which had never been disturbed but by a trifling war, of which I have already spoken, between the cardinals Barberini, nephews to Urban VIII. and the duke of Parma.

The other provinces of Italy were biassed by various interests. Venice had the Turks and the emperor to fear, and could hardly defend its dominions on the continent against the pretensions of Germany, and the invasion of the grand signor. She was no longer that city which was formerly the mistress of the trade of the whole world, and that one hundred and fifty years before had excited the jealousy of so many crowned heads. The wisdom of its administration continued the same as formerly; but its great trade being destroyed, deprived it of almost all its strength, and the city of Venice was by its situation incapable of being conquered, and by its weakness incapable of making conquests.

The state of Florence enjoyed tranquility and abundance under the government of the Medicis family; and literature, arts, and politeness, which they had first introduced, still flourished there.

there. Tuscany was at that time in Italy what Athens had been in Greece.

Savoy, after having been rent by a civil war, and desolated by the French and Spanish armies, was at length wholly united in favour of France, and contributed to weaken the Austrian power in Italy.

The Swiss nation preserved, as at this day, its own liberty, without seeking to oppress its neighbours. They sold the service of their troops to nations richer than themselves: they were poor and ignorant of the sciences, and of all the arts which are begotten by luxury; but they were wise, and they were happy.

Of the NORTHERN KINGDOMS.

THE Northern nations of Europe, viz. Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Muscovy, were like the other powers, always distrustful of, and at war with each other. In Poland, both the manners and government were, as they now are, nearly the same with those of the ancient Goths and Franks. The crown was elective; the nobles had a share in the supreme authority; the people were slaves; the infantry was weak; and the cavalry was wholly composed of nobles; there were no fortified towns, and scarcely any trade. These people were attacked at one time by the Swedes, or the Muscovites, and at others by the Turks.

The Swedes, who were a freer nation by their constitution, which admits even the lowest class of the people into the assembly of the general estates, but at that time more subject to their kings than the Poles, were almost every where
vic-

victorious. Denmark, which had formerly been so formidable to Sweden, was no longer so to any power; and Muscovy was not yet emerged from barbarism.

Of the TURKS.

THE Turks were not what they had been under their Selims, their Mahomets, and their Solymans. The seraglio, though corrupted by effeminacy, still retained its cruelty. The sultans were at the same time the most despotic of sovereigns, and the least secure of their throne and life. Osman and Ibrahim had lately been strangled, and Mustapha had been twice deposed. The Ottoman empire, tottering from these repeated shocks, was also attacked by the Persians; but when it had enjoyed a little respite from them, and that the revolutions of the seraglio were at an end, this empire became again formidable to Christendom, and spread its conquests from the mouth of the Bosphorus to the Adriatic sea. Muscovy, Hungary, Greece, and the Archipelago, fell alternately a prey to the Turkish arms; and from the year 1644, they had constantly carried on the war of Candia, which proved so fatal to the Christians.

Such then were the situation, strength, and interests of the principal European nations, about the time that Lewis XIII. of France departed this life.

The

The Situation of FRANCE.

FRANCE, who was in alliance with Sweden, Holland, Savoy, and Portugal, and had the favourable wishes of the other nations who remained inactive, was engaged in a war against the empire and Spain, which proved ruinous to both sides, and particularly fatal to the house of Austria. This war was like all those which have been carried on for so many centuries between christian princes, in which millions of men have been sacrificed, and whole provinces laid waste to obtain a few frontier towns, the possession of which is seldom worth the expence of conquering them.

Lewis XIII's generals had taken Roussillon; and the Catalans had given their province to France, as the protectors of that liberty which they defended against their kings; but all these successes had not prevented the enemy from making themselves masters of Corbie, in the year 1637, and advancing as far as Pontoise. Fear had driven one half of the inhabitants out of Paris; and cardinal de Richelieu, in the midst of his mighty projects for humbling the Austrian power, had been reduced to lay a tax upon the houses with great gates in the city of Paris; every one of which was obliged to furnish a footman armed, to drive the enemy from the gates of the metropolis.

The French there had done the Spaniards and Germans a great deal of mischief, and had suffered as much themselves.

The

The Manners of the AGE.

THE wars had produced several illustrious generals ; such as a Gustavus Adolphus, a Wallstein, a duke of Saxe Weimar, a Piccolomini, a John de Vert, the marechal of Guebriant, the princes of Orange, and the count of Harcourt : nor was this age less famous for ministers of state. Chancellor Oxenstiern *, the count duke Olivarez, and the cardinal duke de Richelieu, had drawn the attention of all Europe upon them, especially the latter. There never was an age which had not some famous statesmen and soldiers : politics and arms seem unhappily to be the two professions most natural to man, who must always be either negotiating or fighting. The most fortunate is accounted the greatest; and the public frequently attributes to merit what is only the effect of an happy success.

War was then carried on differently from what it afterwards was in the time of Lewis XIV. There were not such numerous armies : no general since the siege of Metz by Charles V. had been at the head of fifty thousand men. They did not make use of so many cannon in the besieging and defending of places as at present. The art of fortification itself was then in its infancy. Spears and short guns were then in use, as well as the sword, which is now entirely laid aside. One of the old laws of na-

* Axel Oxenstiern was great chancellor of Sweden, and prime minister to Gustavus Adolphus, after whose death he conducted the affairs of the Swedes and their allies in Germany, under the name of Director-General.

tions was still in force, namely, that of declaring war by a herald. Lewis XIII. was the last who observed this custom: he sent an herald at arms to Brussels, to declare war against Spain, in the year 1635.

Nothing was more common at that time than to see armies commanded by priests: the cardinal Infant, the cardinals of Savoy, Richelieu, la Valette*, and Sourdis†, archbishop of Bourdeaux, had put on the cuirass, and waged war in person. A bishop of Mendes had been frequently intendant of the army. The popes sometimes threatened these military prelates with excommunication. Pope Urban VIII. being incensed against France, sent word to cardinal la Valette, that he would strip him of the purple, if he did not lay down the sword; but when the pontiff came afterwards to be reconciled to France, he loaded them with benedictions.

Ambassadors, who are equally the ministers of peace with churchmen, made no difficulty of serving in the armies of the allied powers, to whom they were sent. Charnacé, who was envoy from the court of France, to Holland, commanded a regiment there in 1637; and

* Louis de Nogaret, cardinal de la Valette, was third son to the duke d'Epemon. While archbishop of Tholouse, pope Paul V. raised him to the rank of a cardinal, in the year 1621. He was also commander of the order of the Holy Ghost, lieutenant general of the king's armies, and governor of Anjou. He owed all his promotions to the favour of cardinal de Richelieu, to whose interest he was entirely devoted.

† It was not Francis d'Escoubleau, cardinal de Sourdis, but his brother Henry, his coadjutor and afterwards successor in the archbishopric of Bourdeaux, who acted in a military capacity, as being commander of the king's orders.

sometimes afterwards, even the ambassador d'Estrade was a colonel in the Dutch service.

France had not in all above eighty thousand effective men on foot. Its marine, which had for some centuries fallen to decay, and had afterwards been a little restored by cardinal de Richelieu, was ruined under Mazarin. Lewis XIII. had not more than forty-five millions of real ordinary revenue; but money was then at twenty-six livres the mark, consequently these forty-five millions amounted to near eighty-five millions of the present currency, when the arbitrary value of the silver mark is carried to forty-nine livres and an half; an exorbitant numerical value, and which justice and the interest of the public forbid ever to be increased.

Trade, which is so universal at present, was then only in a very few hands: the police of the kingdom was entirely neglected, a certain sign of a bad administration. Cardinal de Richelieu, wholly taken up with his own greatness, which was linked with that of the state, had begun to render France formidable without doors, but had not been able to it make flourishing within. The roads were neither kept in repair nor properly guarded; they were infected by troops of robbers. The streets of Paris, which were narrow, badly paved, and covered with disagreeable filth, swarmed with thieves. It is proved by the registers of parliament, that the city watch was at that time reduced to forty-five men, badly payed, and who frequently did no duty at all.

Ever since the death of Francis I. France had been continually rent by civil wars, or disturbed by factions. The people never wore the yoke

in a voluntary or peaceable manner. The nobles were trained up from their youth in conspiracies ; it was the court-art, the same as that of pleasing the sovereign has since been.

This spirit of discord and faction spread itself from the court into the smallest towns, and took possession of all public societies in the kingdom ; every thing was disputed, because there was no general rule ; the very parishes in Paris used to come to blows with each other ; and processions have fought together about the honour of their banners. The canons of Notre Dame were frequently seen engaged with those of the Holy Chapel ; the parliament and the chamber of accounts battled for the upper hand in the church of Notre Dame, the very day that Lewis XIII. put his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary.

Almost all the public corporations of the kingdom were in arms, and almost every individual was inflamed with the fury of duelling. This Gothic barbarism, which was formerly authorized by kings themselves, and was become the distinguishing character of the nation, contributed as much as the foreign and domestic wars to depopulate the country. It is not saying too much to aver, that in the course of twenty years, of which ten had been troubled by war, there died more French gentlemen by the hands of Frenchmen than by those of the enemy.

We shall not here take any notice of the manner in which the arts and sciences were cultivated : this part of the history of our manners will be found in its proper place. We shall only remark, that the French nation was
plunged

plunged in ignorance, without excepting even those who look upon themselves as removed above the common people.

Astrologers were much consulted, and greatly confided in. All the memoirs of this age, to begin with the history of the president de Thou, are full of predictions: even the grave and rigid duke of Sully himself, very seriously relates those which were made to Henry IV. This credulity, which is the most infallible mark of ignorance, prevailed so much at that time, that care was taken to keep an astrologer concealed in queen Anne of Austria's chamber, while she was in labour of Lewis the XIV.

It is hardly credible, though we find it related by the abbot Vittorio Siri, a cotemporary writer of great authority, that Lewis XIII. had the surname of Just given him from his childhood, because he was born under the sign Libra, or the ballance.

The same weakness which first brought this absurd chimera of judicial astrology into vogue, occasioned a belief in fascinations and witchcrafts; it was even made a point of religion, and nothing was to be seen but priests driving out devils from those who were said to be possessed. The courts of justice, composed of magistrates who ought to have more understanding than the vulgar, were employed in trying witches and forcerers. The death of the famous curate of Loudoun, Urban Grandier, will ever be a stain upon the memory of cardinal de Richelieu. This man was condemned to the stake for a magician, by commissioners appointed by the council of state. We cannot without indignation reflect, that the minister and the judges should

should have been so weak as to believe in the devils of Loudun *, and so barbarous as to condemn an innocent man to the flames ; and it will be remembered with astonishment by the latest posterity, that the wife of the marechal d'Ancre was burnt in the Place de Grève for a witch.

There is still to be seen, in a copy of some registers of the Chatelet, a trial which was begun in the year 1601, on account of a horse, whom his master had with great pains taught to perform tricks, as we now see some every day at our fairs. They wanted to burn both master and horse.

We have already said enough to give an idea of the manners and spirit of the age which preceded that of Lewis XIV.

This want of understanding in all orders of the state, did not a little encourage, even among the best people, certain superstitious practices,

* The real crime for which Grandier suffered, was his being believed the author of a lampoon, intituled, *La Cour-donnière de Loudun*, in which the birth and character of cardinal Richelieu were severely satirised. Grandier being accused by the Capuchins, of exercising the black art upon some Ursuline nuns, supposed to be possessed at Loudun, he was brought to his trial, and found guilty on the evidence of the following devils, Ashtaroath, of the order of the seraphim, and chief of the possessing demons ; Eafas, Celsus, Acaos, Cedon, and Asmodeus, of the order of the thrones ; Alex, Zabulon, Nephthalim, Cham, Uriel, and Acbas, of the order of principalities ; in other words, by the Ursulines, supposed to be possessed by these devils. He was condemned to be burned alive, and suffered with great courage and composure : when he was brought to the stake, a drone-fly happening to buz about his head, a monk who was present, cried aloud, that the devil was come in the shape of a drone to fetch away the soul of Grandier.

which were a disgrace to religion. The protestants, confounding the reasonable worship of the catholics with the abuses introduced into that worship, were more firmly fixed in their hatred to our church ; to our popular superstitions, frequently intermingled with debaucheries, they opposed a brutal sternness and a ferocity of manners, the character of almost all reformers. Thus was France rent and debased by a party spirit, while that social disposition, for which the nation is now so deservedly famous and esteemed, was unknown amongst us. There were then no houses where men of merit might meet together to communicate their lights to each other, no academies, no theatres. In a word, our manners, laws, arts, society, religion, peace, and war, had no resemblance with what was afterwards seen in that age known by the name of THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV.



CHAP. CLXVII.

MINORITY of LEWIS XIV.

The Victories of the FRENCH under the great CONDE, then Duke of ENGUIEN.

CARDINAL de Richelieu and Lewis XIII. were lately dead, the one admired and hated, the other already forgotten. They had left the French, who were at that time a restless people, in a fixed aversion to the very name of a ministry, and with very little respect

to the throne. Lewis XIII. had, by his will, settled a council of regency. This monarch, so ill obeyed when he was living, flattered himself with meeting with more observance after his death; but the first step taken by his widow, Anne of Austria, was to procure an arrêt of the parliament of Paris for setting aside her husband's will. This body, which had been so long in opposition to the court, and which under Lewis had with difficulty preserved its right of making remonstrances, now annulled its monarch's will with the same ease as it would have determined the cause of a private citizen. Anne of Austria applied to this assembly to have the regency unlimited, because that Mary of Medicis had made use of the same court after the death of Henry IV. and Mary of Medicis had set this example, because any other method would have been tedious and uncertain; because the parliament being surrounded by her guards, could not dispute her will; and that an arrêt issued by the parliament and the peers, seemed to confer an incontestable right*.

The custom which always confers the regency on the king's mother, appeared to the French at that time as fundamental a law as that by which women are excluded from the crown. The parliament of Paris having twice settled this point, that is to say, having by its own authority decreed the regency vested in

* Riencourt, in his history of Lewis XIV. says, that Lewis XIII's will was registered in parliament. What deceived this writer is, that Lewis XIII. had actually declared the queen regent, which was confirmed, but that part of his will by which he had limited her authority, was set aside.

the queen-mothers, seemed in fact to have conferred the regency; it considered itself, not without some shew of reason, as the guardian of our kings, and every counsellor thought he had a part in the sovereign authority. By the same arret, Gaston duke of Orleans, brother to the late king, had the vain title given him of lieutenant general of the kingdom, under the queen-regent, who was absolute.

Anne of Austria was, upon her first assuming the reins of government, obliged to continue the war against her brother Philip IV. king of Spain, whom she affectionately loved. It is difficult to assign any positive reason for the French having undertaken this war; they claimed nothing from Spain, not even Navarre, which ought to have been the patrimony of the kings of France. They had continued at war ever since the year 1634, because cardinal de Richelieu would have it so, and it is to be supposed that he was desirous of it, in order to make himself necessary. He had engaged in a league against the emperor with the Swedes, and duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, one of those generals whom the Italians called *Condottieri*, who sold the service of their troops. He likewise attacked the Austrian Spanish branch, in those ten provinces which we now call by the general name of Flanders; and he had divided this country with the Dutch, at that time our allies, tho' it was not yet conquered.

The stress of the war lay on the side of Flanders: the Spanish troops marched from the frontiers of Hainault to the number of twenty-six thousand men, under the command of an old experienced general, whose name was Don
Fran-

Francisco de Mello, fell upon and ravaged the borders of Champagne, and attacked Récroi, and thought soon to advance to the very gates of Paris, as they had done eight years before. The death of Lewis XIII. and the weakness of a minority raised their hopes, and when they saw only an inconsiderable army opposed to them, and that commanded by a young man of only twenty-one years of age, these hopes were changed into full security.

This unexperienced young man, whom they so much despised, was Lewis of Bourbon, then duke of Enguien, known since by the name of the great Condé. Most great generals have become so by degrees, but this prince was born a general. The art of war seemed in him a natural instinct. There was only him and the Swede Torstenson, who at twenty years of age were possessed of this talent which can dispense with experience.

The duke of Enguien had received, together with the news of Lewis XIII's death, orders not to risk a battle; the marechal de l'Hopital, who had been given him as a counsellor and guide, backed these timid orders by his own caution; but the prince heeded neither the court nor the marechal: he entrusted his design to no one but the field-marshal Gassion, a person worthy of being consulted by him. They together obliged the marechal to give his assent to the battle.

It is observed of the prince, that May. 19. having made all the necessary dispositions the evening before the battle, he slept so soundly that night, that his people were obliged to wake him to begin the engagement. The

same thing is related of Alexander. It is very natural for a young man, exhausted with the fatigue which must attend the preparations for such a day, to fall into a sound sleep ; it is likewise as natural that a genius formed for war, and acting without confusion, should leave the body sufficiently calm to enjoy sleep. The prince gained the battle himself, by a quickness of sight, which at once made him discern the danger, and the means to prevent it ; and by a cool activity, which carried him to every place at the time his presence was wanted. He himself, at the head of the cavalry, fell upon the Spanish infantry, till then deemed invincible, and which were as strong and compact as the ancient phalanx, so greatly esteemed, and could open much quicker than the phalanx could, in order to give room for the discharge of eighteen pieces of cannon, which were placed in its center. The prince surrounded this body, and charged it three times successively ; at length he broke it, and no sooner was he assured of the victory, than he gave orders to put a stop to the slaughter. The Spanish officers threw themselves at his feet, for protection against the fury of the victorious soldiery. The duke of Enguien was as assiduous in securing them as he had been in conquering them.

The old count de Fuentes, who commanded this body of foot, was slain on the field of battle ; which when Condé heard, he said, “ He should have wished to have died like him, if he had not conquered.”

The high esteem which the Spanish arms had till then been held in by all Europe was now lost, and those of the French began to gain

gain repute, who had not for a century past gained so great a victory; for the bloody day of Marignan *, which was rather disputed than gained by Francis I. over the Swiss, was as much owing to the black bands of Germany as to the French.

The battles of Pavia and of St. Quintin were again two fatal æras to the reputation of France. Henry IV. had the misfortune to gain great advantages only over his own nation. In the reign of Lewis XIII. the marshal de Guebriant had had some small successes, but they were always counterbalanced by losses. Gustavus Adolphus was the only one at that time who fought those great battles which shake a state, and remain for ever in the memory of posterity.

This battle of Rocroi became the æra of the French glory, and of the great Condé's. This general knew how to conquer, and to make the most of conquest. The letters he wrote made the court resolve on the siege of Theonville, which cardinal Richelieu had not dared to hazard; and when his couriers returned, they found every thing ready for the expedition.

The prince of Condé marched thro' the enemy's country, eluded the vigilance of general Beck, and at length took Thionville; from thence he hastened and laid siege to Cirq, which he likewise reduced. He obliged the Germans to repass the Rhine, followed them over that river, and came upon the frontiers, where he repaired all the defeats and losses which the French had sustained after

Aug. 8.
1643.

* See Vol. IV. Chap. CI.

the death of the marshal de Guebriant. He found the town of Fribourg in the enemy's possession, and general Merci under its walls, with an army superior to his own. Condé had under him two marechals of France, Grammont and Turenne, the latter of whom had been made marechal about a month, in consideration of the good services he had done against the Spaniards in Piedmont, where he laid the foundation of that great reputation which he afterwards acquired. The prince with these two generals attacked Merci's camp, which was entrenched upon two eminences. The fight Aug. 31, 1644. was renewed three times in three several days. It is said that the duke of Enguien threw his commander's staff into the enemy's trenches, and marched to retake it sword in hand, at the head of the regiment of Conti. There may sometimes be a necessity for such bold actions, in leading on troops to attacks of so dangerous a nature. This battle of Fribourg, rather bloody than decisive, was the second victory the prince had gained. Merci decamped four days afterwards; and the surrender of Philipsbourg and Mentz were at once the proofs and fruits of this victory.

The duke of Enguien then returned to Paris, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people, and demanded of the court the rewards due to his services; he left the command of his army to marechal Turenne; but April, 1645. this general, notwithstanding his great military skill, was defeated at Mariendal. Upon this the prince flies back to his army, resumes the command, and to the glory

glory of commanding the great Turenne, aids that of repairing his defeat. He attacks Merci in the plains of Nordlingen, and gains a complete victory. Aug. 3,
1645.

Marshal Grammont was taken; but general Glen, the second in command to Merci, was likewise made prisoner, and Merci himself was among the number of the slain. This general, who was esteemed one of the greatest captains of his age, was interred on the field of battle with this inscription on his tomb, *Sta, viator, heroem calcas*; Stop, traveller, thou treadest on a hero.

The name of the duke of Enguien now eclipsed all others. He afterwards laid siege to Dunkirk, in sight of the Spanish army, and was the first Oct. 7th.
1646 who added that place to the French territories.

These many successes and services, which were rather looked upon with a suspicious eye by the court, than properly rewarded, made him as much feared by the ministry as by his enemies. He was therefore recalled from his theatre of conquest and glory, and sent into Catalonia with a handful of bad troops, as badly paid; then he besieged the town of Lerida, but was obliged to quit the siege. He is accused by several writers of a foolish bravado, in having opened the trenches to the sound of musical instruments. They did not know that this was the custom in Spain.

It was not long however before the ticklish situation of affairs obliged the court to recall him back to Flanders. Archduke Leopold, the emperor's brother, was then besieging the town of Lens in Artois. Condé, as soon as he was re-

stored to those troops who had always conquered under his command, led them directly against the archduke Leopold. This was the third time he had given battle with the advantage of numbers against him. He addressed his soldiers in this short speech; "My Friends, remember Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nordlingen." This battle of Lens put the finishing stroke to his reputation.

Aug. 20th, 1648. He succoured in person marshal Grammont, who was giving way with the left wing, and took general Beck prisoner. The archduke with great difficulty saved himself, with the count of Fruensfaldagna. The enemy's army, which was composed of the Imperialists and Spaniards, was totally routed. They lost upwards of an hundred stands of colours and thirty-eight pieces of cannon, which at that time was a considerable number; there were five thousand men taken prisoners, and three thousand slain; the rest deserted, and the archduke was left without an army.

While the prince of Condé* was thus numbering the years of his youth by victories, and that the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. likewise maintained the reputation of a son of Henry IV. and that of his country, by the taking of Gravelines, Courtray, and Mardyke; the viscount of Turenne reduced Landau, drove the Spaniards out of Triers, and restored the elector.

* His father died in 1646.

He gained the battles of Lavingen and Sommerhausen with the Swedes, and obliged the duke of Bavaria to fly November, out of his dominions, when almost 1647 eighty years old. The earl of Harcourt took Balaguier, and beat the Spaniards. 1645 They lost Portolongone in Italy, and their fleet was defeated on that coast by 1646 twenty ships of war, and as many galleys, which was the whole of the French navy, then newly restored by cardinal de Richelieu.

This was not all; the French army took Lorraine from duke Charles IV. a warlike, but fickle, imprudent, and unfortunate prince, who at the same time saw his dominions seized on by the French, and himself a prisoner to the Spaniards. The Austrian power was hard pressed by the allies of France in the North and South. The duke of Albuquerque, the Portuguese general, gained the battle of May, Bajadox * against the Spaniards. Tor- 1644 stenson defeated the Imperialists near Tabor †, and gained a complete vic- March, tory; and the prince of Orange, at 1645 the head of his Hollanders, penetrated as far as the province of Brabant in Flanders.

The Spanish king was beaten on all sides, and saw Roussillon and Catalonia in the hands of the French. Naples had lately re- 1647 volted against him, and thrown itself into the hands of the duke de Guise, the last

* A fortified city of Spain, and a frontier place, towards Portugal.

† A small town of Bohemia, lying between Budweis and Prague.

prince of that branch of a house which had teemed with so many illustrious and dangerous men. This prince, who was deemed only a rash and bold adventurer, because he did not succeed, had however the glory of passing alone in a boat through the midst of the Spanish fleet, landing in Naples, and defending it without any other assistance than his own valour.

At the view of so many misfortunes pouring upon the house of Austria, and such a train of victories gained by the French, and seconded by the successes of their allies, one would imagine that Vienna and Madrid only waited the moment when they should be obliged to throw open their gates, and that the emperor and the king of Spain must shortly be almost destitute of dominions ; nevertheless, five years of excessive good fortune, hardly chequered by one disappointment, produced but very few real advantages, cost an infinite deal of blood, and brought about no change ; or if there was one to be apprehended, it was rather on the side of France, who was bordering upon its ruin, in the midst of so many apparent successes.

CHAP. CLXVIII.
THE CIVIL WAR.

QUEEN Anne of Austria, the absolute regent, had made cardinal Mazarine* master of the kingdom, and of herself. He had that power over her, which every artful man must have over a woman who is weak enough to be governed, and resolute enough to persist in the choice she has made of a favourite.

We read in some of the memoirs of those times, that the queen only made choice of Mazarine for her confident, in consequence of the inability of Potier, bishop of Beauvais, whom she had at first chosen for her minister, and who is represented as a man of no capacity. This might possibly have been the case, and the queen might have made use of this man for some time as a cypher not to exasperate the nation by the choice of another cardinal, and he a foreigner; but we can never believe that Potier began his short administration by declaring to the Dutch,

* Julio Mazarine was born in the little town of Piscina, in the Abruzzo. He raised himself, by his political knowledge and address, to the notice of the court of Rome, by which he was employed in several negotiations. After the peace of Querasque, in 1631, he was sent as nuncio extraordinary to France, where he insinuated himself into the good graces of cardinal de Richelieu, and gained the friendship of Lewis XIII. in consequence of whose nomination he was created cardinal in the year 1641. After the death of Richelieu, Lewis appointed him counsellor of state, and one of his executors: thus he naturally succeeded to the management of affairs during the minority of Lewis XIV.

“ That

‘ That they must become catholics, if they were desirous of continuing in alliance with France;’ he might as well have made the same proposal to the Swedes. We find this piece of absurdity related by almost all our historians, because they have read it in the memoirs of some of the courtiers and those concerned in the civil war; there are however but too many passages in these memoirs, either falsified by prejudice, or related on the authority of popular rumour. Puerilities should never be quoted, and absurdities can never be believed.

Mazarine exercised his power with moderation at the beginning. It is necessary to have lived a long time with a minister to be able to draw his character, to determine what degree of courage or weakness there was in his mind, or how far he was prudent or knavish: therefore, without pretending to guess at what Mazarine really was, we shall only say what he did. In the first days of his greatness he affected as much humility as Richelieu had displayed haughtiness. Instead of taking a guard for his person, and appearing in public with royal pomp, he had at first a very modest retinue, and substituted an air of affability, and even of softness, in all things where his predecessor had shewn an inflexible pride. The queen was desirous to make the court and the people fond of her person and authority, in which she succeeded. Gaston duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. and the prince of Condé supported her power, and had no emulation but that of serving the state.

It was found necessary to lay taxes, in order to maintain the war with Spain and the empire; some were accordingly imposed, which
were

were in fact very moderate, compared with those which we have since paid, and very insufficient to the wants of the crown.

The parliament, who had the power of authenticating the edicts for these taxes, strongly opposed that of the tariff, and gained the confidence of the people, by continually thwarting the schemes of the ministry. 1647.

In short, the creation of twelve new places of masters of requests, and the withholding of about eight thousand crowns from the salaries of the superior companies, caused an insurrection among all the people of the long robe, and with them of all Paris; and what at this time would hardly be of consequence enough to make a paragraph in a news paper, then stirred up a civil war

Broussel, counsellor-clerk of the upper chamber, a man of no capacity, and whose only merit was that of being the foremost to open all arguments against the court, having been put under arrest, the people expressed more concern than they had ever shewn at the death of a good king. The barricadoes of the league were now revived, the flame of sedition burst out in an instant, and raged so fiercely as hardly to be quenched, being industriously fed by the coadjutor, afterwards the cardinal de Retz: this was the first bishop who had ever excited a civil war without a religious pretext. This extraordinary man has given us his own portrait in his memoirs, which are wrote with an air of greatness, an impetuosity of genius, and an inequality, which form a perfect image of his conduct. He was a man, who, in the midst of the most debauched course of life, and still
lan-

languishing with the consequences it produces, had the art to harangue the people with success, and make himself idolized by them : he breathed nothing but faction and conspiracy. At the age of twenty-three he had been at the head of a conspiracy, which was hatched against the life of cardinal de Richelieu ; he was the contriver of the barricadoes ; he always urged the parliament on to cabals, and the people to seditions. What is most extraordinary is, that the parliament, wholly guided by him, set up their standard against the court, even before they had the countenance or assistance of any prince.

This assembly had for a long time been looked upon in a different light by the court and the people. According to the declaration of all the ministers of state, and of the court itself, the parliament of Paris was a court of justice set apart for trying causes between the subjects : this prerogative it held purely from the will of our kings, and had no other pre-eminence over the other parliaments of the kingdom than that of seniority. It was a court of peers only because the court generally resided at Paris : it had no greater right to make remonstrances than the other bodies in the state, and this right was a matter of pure indulgence. It had succeeded those parliaments which heretofore represented the French nation, but it retained nothing more of those ancient assemblies than the bare name ; an incontestable proof of which is, that the general estates were actually substituted in the place of the national assemblies ; and the parliament of Paris no more resembled the ancient parliaments held by our
first

first kings, than a consul of Smyrna or Aleppo resembles a Roman consul.

This single mistake in the name served as a pretext to the ambitious pretensions of a body of men of the long robe, who all of them, by having purchased their seats, looked upon themselves as intitled to fill the places of the conquerors of the Gauls, and the lords of crown fiefs. This body has at all times abused the power which a chief tribunal, always existing in a capital, necessarily arrogates to itself. It had the boldness to issue an arret against Charles VII. and to banish him from his kingdom. It began a criminal process against Henry III. It always, to the utmost of its power, opposed its sovereigns; and in this minority of Lewis XIV. under the most mild of governments, and the most indulgent of queens, it attempted to raise a civil war against its prince, after the example of the English parliament, which at that time kept its king a prisoner, and condemned him to lose his head. Such was the manner of speaking, and the thoughts of the cabinet !

But the citizens of Paris, and all those connected with the long robe, looked upon the parliament of Paris as an august body, that dispensed justice with a laudable integrity ; that had the good of the state only at heart, which it cherished at the hazard of its own fortune ; that confined its ambition to the glory of curbing the aspiring designs of favourites ; that preserved an equal conduct between the prince and the people ; and the people without enquiring into the origin of its rights or authority, supposed it possessed of the most sacred privileges and indisputable authority ; and when they saw it main-
taining

taining the public cause against ministers whom they hated, gave it the title of, "The father of the state;" and placed a very small difference between the right by which kings hold their crowns, and that which gives the parliament a power to lay a restriction upon the wills of kings.

It was impossible then to hit upon a medium between these two very opposite extremes, for in short there was no other fixed law but that of time and circumstances. Under a vigorous administration the parliament was nothing; under a weak king it was all-powerful; and that is very applicable that was said by Mr. de Guimené, when this body, in the reign of Lewis XIII. complained of the deputies of the noblesse for having taken precedency of it, "Gentlemen, you will have ample revenge in the minority."

We shall not repeat in this place all that has been written concerning these troubles, nor copy whole volumes to recall to observation the numerous circumstances which were then thought so important and dear, and that are now almost buried in oblivion; it is our business to speak of what characterises the spirit of the nation, and not dwell so much upon what relates to the civil wars in general, as to what particularly distinguishes that of the Fronde, as it was called.

Two powers, which were instituted wholly for the maintenance of peace and harmony amongst mankind, namely, an archbishop and a parliament, having begun these troubles, the people looked upon themselves as justified in the greatest extravagancies. The queen could no longer appear abroad without being insulted
in

in the grossest manner ; she was called by no other name than that of Dame Anne, or if any other title was added, it was generally an injurious one. The populace reproached her in the most virulent terms with her fondness for Mazarine ; and, what was yet more insufferable, her ears were filled in all places where she went with ballads and lampoons, the monuments of low ribaldry and malice, which seemed calculated to convey a lasting suspicion of her virtue.

She was now obliged to fly from Paris with her children, her minister, Jan. 6.
the duke of Orleans, and even the 1649.
great Condé himself, and to retire to St. Germain, and reduced to pawn the crown-jewels for subsistence ; the king himself was frequently in want of necessaries, the pages of his bed-chamber were dismissed, because they could no longer be maintained. At that time even Lewis XIV.'s aunt, the daughter of Henry the Great, and consort to the king of England, who had taken refuge in Paris, after having been expelled her own kingdom, was then reduced to the utmost extremities of poverty ; and her daughter, who was afterwards married to the brother of Lewis XIV. lay in bed for want of cloaths to keep her warm, while the people of Paris, blinded with their mad rage, paid not the least attention to the sufferings of so many royal personages.

The queen, with tears in her eyes, besought the great Condé to protect the young king. The conqueror of Rocroi, Fribourg, Lens, and Nordlingen, could not belie those great services. He found himself agreeably flattered with the honour of defending a court which had

had been ungrateful to his merits, against rebels who sought his assistance. The parliament then had the great Condé to encounter, and yet dared to carry on the war.

The prince of Conti, brother to the great Condé, who was as jealous of his elder brother as he was incapable of equalling him, the dukes of Longueville, Bouillon, and Beaufort, all animated with the same restless spirit as the coadjutor, all fond of novelties, full of the hopes of aggrandising themselves on the ruins of the state, and of making the blind motions of the parliament subservient to their own private interests, went in a body and offered their services to that prelate. The high chamber then proceeded to appoint generals for an army which was not yet raised. Every one taxed himself to raise troops. There were twenty counsellors possessed of new posts, which had been created by cardinal de Richelieu; their brethren, by a meanness of spirit of which every society is susceptible, seemed to wreak their vengeance against the memory of cardinal Richelieu upon them. They gave them a thousand mortifications, would hardly look upon them as members of the parliament, and obliged each of them to pay fifteen thousand livres towards the expence of the war, and to purchase the forbearance of those of their own body.

The high chancellor, the courts of inquests and requests, the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, who had so loudly inveighed against a trifling and necessary tax, which did not exceed an hundred thousand crowns, now furnished a sum amounting nearly to ten millions of our present money, for the subversion of
their

their country. Twelve thousand men were raised by an arret of parliament; every house with a great gate furnished a man and an horse, from whence this body of horse got the name of "The Great-gate Cavalry." The coadjutor had a regiment of his own, which was called the Regiment of Corinth, because he was titular archbishop of Corinth:

Had it not been for the names of the king of France, the great Condé, and the capital of the kingdom, this war of the Fronde would have been as ridiculous as that of the Barberini; no one knew for what he was in arms. The prince of Condé besieged five hundred thousand citizens with eight thousand soldiers. The Parisians came out into the field drest in ribbons and plumes of feathers, and their evolutions were the sport of the military people; they took to their heels at the sight of two hundred men of the king's army. All this was made a subject of raillery; the regiment of Corinth having been beaten by a small party of the king's troops, this little repulse was called "The first of the Corinthians."

The twenty counsellors who had furnished fifteen thousand livres a piece, had no other distinction than that of being called the Twenty Fifteens.

The duke of Beaufort, who was the idol of the people, and the instrument made use of in stirring them up to sedition, though a popular prince, had but a narrow understanding, and was a public object of raillery both with the court and those of his own party. He was never mentioned but by the name of the King of the Mob. The Parisian troops, after sallying
out

out of the city, and always coming back beaten, were received with peals of laughter. They repaired the repulses they met with by sonnets and epigrams; the taverns and brothels were the tents where they held their councils of war, in the midst of singing, laughing, and the most dissolute pleasures. The general licentiousness was carried to such an height, that one night some of the principal officers of the malcontents having met the holy sacrament, which was carrying through the streets to a sick person whom they suspected of being a Mazarinian, they drove the priest back again with the flat of their swords.

In short, the coadjutor coming to take his seat in parliament as archbishop of Paris, the handle of a poinard was seen sticking out of his pocket; upon which some one cried out "Behold our archbishop's breviary *."

In the midst of all these troubles, the nobility assembled in a body at the convent of the Augustine friars, appointed findics, and held public sessions. It might have been supposed this was to new-model the government, and convoke the general estates, but it was only to settle a claim to the tabouret †, which the queen had granted to madam de Pons. Perhaps there never was a stronger proof of that levity of mind of which the French were then accused.

The civil discords under which England groaned at the very same time, may serve to shew the characters of the two nations. There

* A Romish prayer-book.

† The tabouret is a stool appointed for ladies of the first distinction at the French court to sit upon, in presence of the queen, at her levee.

was a gloomy desperation and a sort of rational rage in the civil wars of the English. Every thing was decided by the sword ; scaffolds were erected for the vanquished ; and their king, who was taken prisoner in a battle, was brought as a culprit before a court of justice, examined concerning the abuse he was said to have made of his power, condemned to lose his head, and executed in the sight of all his subjects with as much regularity and with the same forms of justice, as if it had been a private man condemned for a crime ; while, during the course of these dreadful troubles, the city of London was not even for a moment affected with the calamities incident to a civil war.

The French, on the contrary, ran headlong into seditions through caprice, and laughing all the time. Women were at the head of factions, and love made and broke cabals. The dutchess of Longueville prevailed on Turenne, lately made a marshal of 1649 France, to persuade the army which he commanded for the king to revolt. Turenne failed of success, and quitted like a fugitive the army of which he was general, to please a woman who made a jest of his passion. From general to the king of France, he descended to be the lieutenant of Don Estevan de Gamara, with whom he was defeated at Retel by the king's troops. Every one knows this billet of the marshal d'Hoquincourt to the dutchess of Montbazon : " Peronne belongs to the fairest of the fair ;" and the following verses, which the duke of Rochefoucault wrote on the dutchess of Longueville, when he received a wound by a musket, at the battle of St. Anthony, by which he was for some time deprived at sight :

*Pour meriter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux
yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, & l'aurais faite
aux Dieux.*

The war ended, and was renewed again at several different times; and there was not a person who had not frequently changed sides. The prince of Condé, having brought the court back in triumph to Paris, indulged himself in the satisfaction of despising those whom he had defended; and thinking the rewards bestowed on him unequal to his reputation, and the services he had done, he was the first to turn Mazarine into ridicule, to brave the queen, and insult a government which he disdained. He is said to have wrote in this stile to the cardinal, To the most illustrious scoundrel; and that, taking his leave of him one day, he said, Farewell, Mars. He encouraged the marquis of Jarfai to make a declaration of love to the queen, and pretended to be angry that she was affronted with it. He joined with his brother the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville, who quitted the party of the malcontents. The party formed by the duke of Beaufort at the beginning of the regency had been nicknamed the Self-sufficients; this of the prince of Condé's was called the faction of the Petits-Maitres, because they wanted to be masters of the state. There are no other traces left of all these terms, except the name of Petit-Maitre, which is now a-days applied to young men of agreeable persons, but badly educated, and that of Frondeurs, or Grumblers, which is given to those who censure the government.

The

The coadjutor, who had declared himself an implacable enemy to the administration, was privately reconciled to the court, in order to obtain a cardinal's hat, and sacrificed the prince of Condé to the minister's resentment. In a word, this prince, who had defended the state against its enemies, and the court against the rebels; Condé, at the summit of his glory, and who always acted more like the hero than the man of prudence, saw himself arrested, together with the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville. He might have governed the state, if he would only have endeavoured to please; but he was contented with being admired. The people of Paris, who had made barricadoes for a counsellor-clerk, hardly a degree removed from a fool, made public rejoicings when the hero and defender of France was hurried away to the dungeon of Vincennes.

A year afterwards, the very men, who had sold the great Condé and the other princes, to the dastardly revenge of Mazarin, obliged the queen to set open the gates of their prisons, and drive her prime minister out of the kingdom. Condé now returned amidst the acclamations of that very people who had shewn such hatred to him, and by his presence occasioned new cabals and dissensions.

The kingdom remained for some years longer in this tumultuous situation. The government, always the dupe to weak and uncertain councils, seemed now on the point of ruin; but dissention, which always prevailed among the rebels, saved the court. The coadjutor, who was sometimes a friend, and at others an enemy to the prince of Condé, stirred up a

part of the parliament and people against him, and boldly undertook at the same time to serve the queen by opposing this prince, and to insult her by obliging her to banish cardinal Mazarin, who retired to Cologne. The queen, by a contradiction too common to weak administrations, was obliged at once to accept of his services, to put up with his insults, and to nominate to the purple this very man, who, when coadjutor, had been the author of the barricades, and had obliged the royal family to quit their capital and besiege it.



CHAP. CLXIX.

Continuation of the CIVIL WAR, till the End
of the REBELLION in 1654.

AT length Condé determined upon a war, which he ought to have begun in the time of the rebellion, if he was desirous of being master of the state, or never to have undertaken, if he meant to live as a subject. He quits Paris, arms the provinces of Guienne, Poitou, and Anjou, and applies for succours against his own country to those Spaniards, of whom he had so lately been the most dreadful scourge.

Nothing can better shew the madness of these times, and the confused manner of proceeding, than what then happened to this prince. A courier was sent to him from Paris, with proposals for engaging him to return and lay down his arms. The courier by a mistake, instead of going to Angerville where the prince then was,

was, went to Augerville. The letter came too late: Condé declared, that if he had received it sooner, he would have accepted the proposals for peace; but since he was now at such a distance from Paris, it was not worth while to go back. Thus, by the mistake of a courier, and the mere capriciousness of this prince, France was once more plunged in a civil war.

And now cardinal Mazarin, who while an exile at the farther end of Cologne, had still continued to govern the court, returned back to France rather like a sovereign who returns to take possession of his dominions, than like a minister coming to resume his post; he was escorted by a small army of seven thousand men, raised wholly at his own expence; that is to say, with the government's money, which he had appropriated to his own use.

Dec.
1651

The king, in a declaration at this time, is made to say, that the cardinal actually raised those troops with his own money; which at once overturns the opinion of those writers who say that when he first left the kingdom he was very poor. He gave the command of his small army to the marshal d'Hoquincourt; all the officers wore green sashes, which was the colour of the cardinal's livery. Each party at that time had its particular sash. The king's was white, and the prince of Condé's yellow: it was surprising that cardinal Mazarin, who had all along affected so much humility and modesty, should have had the arrogance to make a whole army wear his livery, as if he had been of a different party from the king his master; but he could not resist this emotion of vanity. The

queen approved of it, and the king, who was then come of age, with his brother, went to meet him.

On the first news of his return, Gaston, duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. who had insisted upon his being banished, began to raise troops in Paris without well knowing how he was to employ them. The parliament renewed its arrets, proscribed Mazarin, and set a price upon his head. They were obliged to consult the registers for the price paid for the head of an enemy to the state, and they found that in the reign of Charles IX. the sum of fifty thousand crowns had been promised by arret to any person who should produce admiral Coligny alive or dead. It was therefore very seriously determined to act according to form, by setting the same price on the assassination of a cardinal and prime minister. No one however was tempted to gain the fifty thousand crowns offered by the proscription, which, after all, would never have been paid. In any other nation, or at any other time, such an arret would have met with persons to put it in execution; but now it served only to afford new subject of raillery. Blot and Marigni, two witty writers, who mingled gaiety with these tumults and disorders, caused a paper to be fixed up in the public places of Paris, offering a reward of one hundred and fifty thousand livres divided into shares; so much to the person who should cut off the cardinal's nose, so much for an ear, so much for an eye, and so much for the person who would make him an eunuch. This raillery was the only effect produced by this proscription. The cardinal, on his side, made no use either of

poison or assassination against his enemies ; and notwithstanding the rancour and madness of so many factions, and their hatred, no very great crimes were committed on any side. The heads of parties were not inclined to cruelty, nor were the people very furious, for it was not a religious war.

The whimsical spirit which prevailed at that time, had taken such thorough possession of the body of the parliament of Paris, that having solemnly ordered an assassination which was laughed at, they issued an arret, by which a certain number of counsellors were ordered to repair to the frontiers, and take depositions against the army of cardinal Mazarin, that is to say, the king's army.

Two of these counsellors had the imprudence to take some peasants with them, and break down the bridges over which the cardinal was to pass : they were taken prisoners in the attempt by a body of the king's troops, but were released again, without any farther punishment than that of being laughed at by all parties.

At the very time that this body was running into these extremes against the king's minister, it declared the prince of Condé guilty of high treason, who had taken up arms solely to oppose this minister ; and by a strange reverse of judgment, which nothing but their former actions could render credible, they ordered the fresh troops which had been raised by Gaston, duke of Orleans, to march against Mazarin, and at the same time prohibited any sums to be taken out of the public funds to pay them.

Nothing else could be expected from a body of magistrates, who, thrown quite out of its proper sphere, ignorant of its own rights and real power, and as little acquainted with state affairs and war, meeting in a tumultuous manner, and passing decrees in hurry and confusion, took measures which it had not thought of the day before, and which it was afterwards astonished at itself.

The parliament of Bourdeaux, which was at that time in the prince of Condé's interest, observed a more uniform conduct, because, being at a greater distance from the court, it was not so much agitated by opposite factions.

But objects of greater importance now engrossed the attention of all France.

Condé, in league with the Spaniards, appeared in the field against the king; and Turenne, having deserted those Spaniards with whom he had been defeated at Retel, had just made his peace with the court, and commanded the king's army. The finances were already too much drained to allow either of the two parties to keep great armies on foot; but small ones were sufficient to decide the fate of the kingdom. There are times when an army of one hundred thousand men is barely sufficient to take two towns; and there are others in which eight thousand men may subvert or establish a throne.

Lewis XIV. who was brought up in adversity, wandered with his mother, his brother, and cardinal Mazarin, from province to province, with not near so many troops to attend his person, as he afterwards had in time of peace for his ordinary guard; while an army of five or six thousand men, part sent from Spain,
and

and part raised by the prince of Condé, pursued him to the very heart of his kingdom.

The prince of Condé, in the mean time, made quick marches from Bourdeaux to Montauban, taking towns and increasing his numbers in every place.

All the hopes of the court were centered in marshal Turenne. The king's army was at Guienne, on the Loire, and the prince of Condé's a few leagues distant, under the command of the dukes of Nemours and Beaufort. The misunderstanding between these two generals was near proving fatal to the prince's party. The duke of Beaufort was unfit for the least command. The duke of Nemours past for a brave and amiable, rather than a skilful general. The army was ruined by them both together. The men, who knew that the great Condé was an hundred leagues distant from them, looked upon themselves as lost; when, in the middle of the night, a courier presented himself to the main guard, in the forest of Orleans: the centinels presently discovered this courier to be the prince himself, who had come post from Agen, through a thousand adventures, and always in disguise, to put himself at the head of his army.

His presence did a great deal, and this unforeseen arrival still more: he knew that men are elated with whatever is sudden and unexpected; he therefore took immediate advantage of the confidence and boldness with which his presence had inspired his troops. It was this prince's distinguishing talent in war to form the boldest resolutions in an instant, and to execute them with equal prudence and promptitude.

April 1652 The royal army was divided into two corps; Condé fell upon that which lay at Blenau, under the command of marshal d'Hoquincourt, which was broke almost as soon as attacked. Turenne could not receive advice of this. Cardinal Mazarin, struck with a panic, flew to Gien in the midst of the night, to awaken the king and acquaint him with this news. His little court was struck with consternation: it was proposed to save the king by flight, and convey him privately to Bourges. The victorious Condé advanced towards Gien, and the fear and desolation became universal. Turenne however quieted the apprehensions of the people by his steadiness, and saved the court by his dexterity. With the few troops he had left, he made such dexterous movements, and so well improved his ground and time, that he prevented Condé from prosecuting the advantage he had gained. It was difficult at that time to determine which of these two generals had acquired the most honour; Condé by the victory he had gained, or Turenne by having snatched the fruits of his victory from him. It is certain that in this battle of Blenau, which for a long time continued to be famous in France, there were not above four hundred men killed: nevertheless, the prince of Condé was on the point of making himself master of the whole royal family, and of getting his enemy, the cardinal, into his hands. There could not well be a smaller battle, greater concerns depending, or a more pressing danger.

Condé, who did not flatter himself with the notion of surprising Turenne as he had done Hoquincourt, made his army march to Paris, and

and hastened to enter that city, and enjoy the glory he had acquired, in the favourable dispositions of a blinded people. The admiration that this last action, which was exaggerated in all its circumstances, had raised in all ranks of people, the general hatred to Mazarin, and the name and presence of the great Condé, seemed at first to make him absolute master of the capital: but in fact the minds of the people in general were divided, and each party was split into different factions, as is the case in all civil troubles. The coadjutor, now become cardinal de Retz, and who had in appearance been reconciled to a court that feared him, and whom he equally distrusted, was no longer master of the people, nor acted the principal part in these transactions. He governed the duke of Orleans, and opposed Condé. The parliament fluctuated between the court, the duke of Orleans, and the prince; but all sides joined in crying out against Mazarin: every one in private took care of his own concerns. The people were like a stormy ocean, whose waves were driven at hazard by many contrary winds. The shrine of St. Genevieve was carried in procession through Paris to obtain the expulsion of the cardinal minister; and the populace did not in the least doubt that the saint would perform this miracle in the same manner as she grants rain.

Nothing was to be seen but negotiations between the heads of parties, deputations from the parliament, meetings of the chambers, seditions among the people, and soldiers all over the country. Guards were mounted even at the gates of convents. The prince had called

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in the Spaniards to his assistance. Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, who had been driven out of his dominions, and who had nothing left but an army of eight thousand men, which he sold every year to the Spanish king, advanced with this army towards Paris: but cardinal Mazarin offering him more money to return back, than he was to have from the prince of Condé for advancing, the duke soon withdrew out of France, after having laid the countries waste in his march, and carried off a handsome sum of money from both sides.

Condé then remained in Paris, where his power was every day growing weaker, and his army dwindling away, while Turenne conducted the king and his court towards the capital. The king, who was then fifteen years old, beheld from the heights of Charonne, the battle of St. Anthony, in which these two generals, with an handful of troops, performed such great things, as considerably increased the reputation of both, which already seemed incapable of addition.

The prince of Condé, with a few noblemen of his party, and a small number of soldiers, sustained and repelled the efforts of the king's army. The king himself, attended by cardinal Mazarin, beheld this fight from a neighbouring eminence. The duke of Orleans, uncertain which side to take, kept within his palace of Luxembourg, and cardinal de Retz remained in his archbishopric. The parliament waited the issue of the battle to enact new decrees. The people, who at that time were equally afraid of the king's troops and the prince's, had
shut

shut the city gates, and would not suffer any one to come in or go out, while the most noble blood of the kingdom was streaming in the suburbs. There it was that the duke of Rochefoucault, who was so famous for his courage and wit, received a blow over his eyes, which deprived him of his sight for some time. Nothing was to be seen but young noblemen killed or wounded, carrying to St. Anthony's gate, which was kept shut.

July
1652

At length mademoiselle, the duke of Orleans' daughter, taking Condé's part, whom her father had not dared to assist, ordered the gates to be opened for the wounded, and had the boldness to fire the cannon of the Bastile upon the king's troops. The royal army retired. Condé gained only glory; but mademoiselle ruined herself for ever with the king her cousin by this imprudent violence; and cardinal Mazarin, who knew the great desire she had to espouse a crowned head, observed upon this occasion that, "Those cannon had killed her husband."

Most of our historians amuse their readers only with accounts of the battles fought, and the prodigies of valour and politics displayed on these occasions; but whoever is acquainted with the shameful expedients which were put in practice, the wretchedness which was brought upon the people, and the meanness to which all sides were reduced, will look upon the glory of the heroes of these times with more pity than admiration; as we may judge from what we find related by Gourville, a man who was devoted to the prince of Condé. This writer acknowledges, that he himself, in order to procure money for the prince on a pressing occa-

sion, was obliged to rob a receiver's office; and that he went one day and seized a director of the posts in his own house, and obliged him to purchase his liberty with a sum of money; he relates all these outrages as common occurrences at that time.

After the bloody and indecisive battle of St. Anthony, the king could neither enter Paris, nor could the prince of Condé think of remaining there much longer. A commotion of the populace, and the deaths of several citizens, of which he was thought to be the author, had made him hateful in the eyes of the people. Nevertheless, he had still a party in the parliament. This body, who had then little to apprehend from the resentment of a wandering court, driven, as it were, from their capital, being pressed by the duke of Orleans and the prince's cabals, issued an arret declaring the former lieutenant-general of the kingdom, though the king was then of age. This was the same title which had been conferred on the duke of Mayenne in the time of the league. The prince of Condé was appointed generalissimo of the forces. The court, incensed at these proceedings, ordered the parliament to remove itself to Pontoise, which some few of the counsellors did; so that there were now two parliaments, who disputed each others authority, enacted contradictory decrees, and would by this means have fallen into universal contempt, had they not always agreed in demanding the cardinal's expulsion: so much was an hatred to that minister looked upon at that time as the essential duty of a Frenchman.

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At that time all parties were alike weak, and the court was as much so as the rest. They all wanted men and money. Factions were daily encreasing: the battles which had been fought on both sides had produced only losses and vexations. The court found itself obliged once more to give up Mazarin, whom every one accused of being the cause of these troubles, while he was in fact only the pretence. Accordingly he quitted the kingdom a second time; and, as an additional disgrace, the king was obliged to issue a public declaration, by which he banished his minister while he commended his services and lamented his exile.

Charles I. of England had lately lost his head upon a scaffold, for having, at the beginning of his troubles, sacrificed the life of his friend and counsellor, the earl of Strafford, to his parliament's resentment. On the other hand, Lewis XIV. became the peaceable master of his kingdom, by agreeing to the banishment of Mazarin. Thus the same weakness had very different successes. The king of England, by giving up his favourite, emboldened a people who delighted in war, and had a hatred to all kings: and Lewis XIV. (or rather the queen-mother) by banishing the cardinal, took away all pretence for a revolt from a people who were grown weary of war, and had an affection for the royal character.

No sooner was the cardinal departed on his way to Bouillon, the place fixed for his new retreat, than the citizens of Paris, of their own accord, sent deputies to the king to beseech him to return to his capital, which he accordingly did; and every thing appeared so peaceable, that
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it would have been difficult to suppose that a few days before all had been in confusion. Gaston of Orleans, ever unfortunate in his undertakings for want of spirit to carry them through, was banished to Blois, where he passed the rest of his days in repentance; and he was the second of the great Henry's sons who died without glory. Cardinal de Retz, who was perhaps as imprudent as he was bold and aspiring, was arrested in the Louvre, and after being carried from prison to prison, he for a long time led a wandering life, which at length ended in a retirement, where he acquired virtues which his high spirit had made him a stranger to, amidst the tumults of his fortune.

Some counsellors of the parliament, who had most abused their power, payed the forfeit of their faults by banishment; the rest were restricted within the proper limits of the magisterial function; and some were encouraged to do their duty by a yearly gratification of five hundred crowns, which was payed them privately by Fouquet, procuror-general, and comptroller of the finances.

In the mean time the prince of Condé, abandoned in France by almost all his partizans, and but weakly seconded by the Spaniards, still carried on an unsuccessful war on the frontiers of Champagne. There were still some few factions subsisting in Bourdeaux, but they were soon quelled.

The calm which the kingdom now enjoyed was owing to the banishment of cardinal Mazarin. Yet scarcely was he expelled by the general cry of the French nation, and by the royal declaration, than he was recalled by the king,

king, and, to his infinite surprize, entered Paris once more in full power, and without the least disturbance. The king received him as a father, and the people as a master. A public entertainment was made for him at the town-house, amidst the acclamations of the citizens: he distributed money among the populace on this occasion; but amidst all the satisfaction he received in this happy change, he is said to have shewn a contempt for our levity and inconstancy. The parliament, who had before set a price upon his head as a public robber, now sent deputies to compliment him; and this very parliament, a short time afterwards, passed sentence of death on the prince of Condé for contumacy; a change common in such times, and which was the more base, as by this decree they condemned the very man in whose crimes they had been so long partakers.

The cardinal likewise, who urged this condemnation of the great Condé, was soon afterwards seen to give one of his nieces in marriage to the prince of Conti, Condé's brother, a proof that this minister's power would soon become boundless.

CHAP. CLXX.

Condition of FRANCE, till the Death of
Cardinal MAZARIN, 1661.

WHILE the state was thus torn in pieces within, it had likewise been attacked and weakened from without. All the fruits of the victories of Rocroi, Lens, and Nordlingen, were lost, the important fortrefs of Dunkirk was retaken by the Spaniards, who had likewise driven the French out of Barcelona, and retaken Casal in Italy. Yet, notwithstanding the tumults of the civil broils, and the weight of a foreign war, Mazarin had been fortunate enough to conclude the famous peace of Westphalia, by which the emperor and the empire sold the sovereignty of Alsace to the king and the crown of France, for three millions of livres, (about six millions of our present money,) to be paid to the archduke by this treaty, which became the basis of all future treaties. A new electorate was created in favour of the house of Bavaria. The rights of all the princes and cities of the empire, and even the privileges of every private gentleman, was settled at this peace. The emperor's power was restricted within very narrow limits, and the French, in conjunction with the Swedes, became the law-givers of Germany. The glory accruing from hence to France, was in part owing to the Swedish arms; Gustavus Adolphus had first begun to shake the empire. His generals had also pushed their conquests pretty far, under the government of his daughter Christina. Her
general

general Wrangel was ready to enter into Austria, count Koningsmark was master of one half of the city of Prague, and was laying siege to the other half, when this peace was concluded : and to overwhelm the emperor in this manner, it cost France only a million a year in subsidies to the Swedes.

And indeed the Swedes gained more advantages from this treaty than the French. They had Pomerania, several fortified places, and a considerable sum of money. They obliged the emperor to deliver into the hands of the Lutherans certain benefices which belonged to the Roman Catholics. The court of Rome set up the cry of impiety, and loudly declared that the cause of God and religion was betrayed. The Protestants boasted that they had sanctified the work of peace by stripping the Papists. Every one speaks as interest dictates.

The Spanish court did not accede to this peace, and with good reason ; for seeing France overwhelmed with its civil wars, the Spanish ministry was in hopes of profiting by our dissensions. The German troops, who were now disbanded, served as a fresh reinforcement to the Spaniards. The emperor, after the peace of Munster, sent thirty thousand men into Flanders, in the space of four years. This was a manifest violation of treaties ; but they are seldom executed in any other manner.

The ministers of the court of Madrid had the address in this treaty of Westphalia to make a separate peace with the Dutch. The Spanish monarchy, in short, thought itself happy to have no longer for enemies, and to acknowledge as sovereigns, those whom they had so long treated

as rebels, unworthy of pardon. These republicans encreased their wealth, and secured their tranquillity and greatness, by thus treating with Spain without breaking with France.

1653 They were so powerful, that in a war which they had some time afterwards with England, they sent an hundred ships of the line to sea; and victory long remained doubtful between Blake the English admiral, and Tromp who commanded the Dutch fleet, who were both of them at sea what Condé and Turenne were on shore. France had not at that time ten ships of fifty guns fit to send to sea; and her navy was every day falling more and more into decay.

Lewis XIV. then saw himself in 1653 absolute master of the kingdom, which was still affected with the shocks it had received; full of disorder in every branch of the administration, but abounding in resources, without any ally, except the duke of Savoy, to assist it in carrying on an offensive war, and having no foreign enemies but Spain, which was then in a worse condition than France itself. All the French who had been concerned in the civil war were subjected, except the prince of Condé and some few of his partizans, of which one or two remained faithful to him thro' friendship and gratitude, as the counts de Coligni and Bouteville; and some others, because the court would not buy their services at an exorbitant price.

Condé, now made general of the Spanish forces, could not recruit a body which he himself had weakened by the destruction of its infantry, in the battles of Rocroi and Lens. He fought

fought with new troops, of which he was not master, against the veteran regiments of the French, who had learnt to conquer under him, and were now commanded by Turenne.

It was the fortune of Condé and Turenne to be always conquerors when they fought together at the head of the French, and to be beaten when they commanded the Spaniards. Turenne had with great difficulty saved the shattered remains of the Spanish army at the battle of Retel, where, from being general to the king of France, he became lieutenant to Don Estevan de Gamarra.

The prince of Condé met with the same fate before Arras: he and the archduke were besieging that town; Turenne came and besieged them in their camp, forced their lines, and the archduke's troops were put to flight. Condé, with only two regiments of French and Lorrainers, sustained the attack of all Turenne's army; and, while the archduke was flying, he beat marshal Hoquincourt, repulsed marshal de la Ferté, and covered the retreat of the defeated Spaniards. Upon which the Spanish king wrote to him in these terms: "I have heard that all was lost, and that you have saved all."

It is difficult to say by what battles are lost or won; but it is certain that Condé was one of the greatest military geniuses that had ever appeared, and that the archduke and his council refused to do any thing that day which Condé had proposed.

Though the raising the siege of Arras, the forcing the enemy's lines, and putting the archduke to flight, reflected the highest glory on
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Turenne, it was observed, that in the letter * written in the king's name to the parliament upon this victory, the whole success of the campaign was attributed to cardinal Mazarin, without the least mention made of Turenne's name. The cardinal was actually within a few leagues of Arras with the king. He had even gone into the camp at the siege of Stenai, a town which Turenne had taken before he relieved Arras. Several councils of war had been held in the cardinal's presence: on this he founded his pretension to the honour of these events; and by this piece of vanity he drew a ridicule upon himself, which not all the authority of prime minister could efface.

The king was not present at the battle of Arras, though he might have been so; he had been in the trenches at the siege of Stenai; but the cardinal would not suffer him any more to hazard a person on which the tranquillity of the state, and the power of the minister, seemed alike to depend.

This war, which was but weakly supported, was carried on in their masters names, on one side by Mazarin, who was absolute master of France, and its young monarch; and on the other by don Lewis de Haro, who governed the Spanish kingdom under Philip IV. The name of Lewis XIV. was not then known to the world, and the king of Spain had never been spoken of. There was no crowned head at that time in Europe who enjoyed any share of personal reputation. Queen Christina of Sweden was the only one who governed alone,

* Dated at Vincennes, Sept. 11, 1654.

and supported the dignity of the throne, which was abandoned, disgraced, or unknown in other kingdoms.

Charles II. king of England, then a fugitive in France, with his mother and brother, had brought thither his misfortunes and his hopes; a private subject had subdued England, Scotland, and Ireland. Cromwell, that usurper so worthy of reigning, had prudently taken the title of Protector, and not that of King, as he knew that the English were acquainted with the extent of the royal prerogative, but did not so well know the limits of a protector's authority.

He strengthened his power by knowing when to restrain it: he made no attempt upon the rights of the people, of which they were always jealous*; he never quartered soldiers upon the city of London, nor imposed any tax which might occasion murmurings; he did not offend the public eye with too much pomp; he did not indulge himself in any pleasures; nor did he heap up riches: he took care that justice should be observed with that stern impartiality, which knows no distinction between the great and small.

* Cromwell's power was not founded upon the opinion of the people, by whom in general he was detested; but upon the strength of a standing army, inured to war, and devoted to his interest. All the world knows how he was abhorred by the friends of the church, of the old constitution, and the royal family. He was hated by the presbyterians, whom he had shamefully expelled from the parliament, and excluded from all share of his favour; and by assuming the protectorship, he had incensed his former friends and instruments the independents, who, besides, were not numerous in the kingdom.

The brother of Pantaleon Sá, the Portuguese ambassador in England, thinking that he might act as he pleased with impunity, because the person of his brother was sacred, had committed an outrage upon some citizens of London, and afterwards caused some to be assassinated by his own people, in revenge for the opposition he had met with from the rest; for this he was condemned to be hanged. Cromwell, though he had it in his power to save him, suffered him to be executed, and the next day signed a treaty with the ambassador.

Never had the trade of England been in so free and so flourishing a condition, nor the state so rich. Its victorious fleets made its name respected in every sea, while Mazarin, wholly employed in governing and heaping up riches, suffered justice, trade, navigation, and even the revenue itself, to languish and decline in France. As much master in France as Cromwell was in England, after a civil war, he might have procured the same advantages for the country which he governed, as Cromwell had done for his; but Mazarin was a foreigner, and though of a less cruel disposition than Cromwell, wanted his greatness of soul.

All the nations of Europe, who had neglected an alliance with England during the reigns of James I. and Charles, solicited it under Cromwell. Queen Christina* herself, though she

* Christina queen of Sweden, was the only child of the great Gustavus Adolphus, whom she succeeded on the throne of Sweden in the year 1633, being then about five years of age; she was a woman of a masculine genius, well tinctured with learning, and a generous patron of the liberal arts.

she had expressed her detestation at the murder of Charles I. entered into an alliance with a tyrant whom she esteemed.

Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro vied with each other, in exerting their politics to engage the protector in an alliance; and he had for some time the satisfaction to see himself courted by the two most powerful kingdoms in Christendom*.

The Spanish minister offered to assist him to take Calais; Mazarin proposed to him to besiege Dunkirk, and to put that place into his hands. Cromwell then had at his option the keys of France and Flanders. He was also strongly solicited by the great Condé; but he would not enter into a negotiation with a prince who had nothing to depend upon but his name, and who was without a party in France, and without power among the Spaniards.

The protector then determined in favour of France; but without making any particular treaty, or sharing conquests beforehand: he was desirous to render his usurpation illustri-

arts. In her disposition she was proud, vain, passionate, and capricious. Finding her government and conduct disagreeable to her subjects, she voluntarily abdicated the throne in favour of her kinsman Charles Gustavus, count-palatine of Deux-Ponts, renounced Lutheranism, embraced the Roman-catholic faith, and fixed her residence at Rome, in the midst of the literati, whom she always affected to cultivate. She was treated with great respect by the sovereign pontiffs, and, dying in the year 1689, was interred in the church of St. Peter.

* It was wretched policy in Cromwell to join France against the Spaniards; and to this step he is said to have been determined by a very singular regard he had for Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, who was the ally of France.

ous by great undertakings. He had formed the design of taking America from the Spaniards, but they had timely notice of his intention. His admirals however took the island of Jamaica from them, which is still in the possession of the English, and secures their trade in the new world. It was not till after the expedition to Jamaica, that Cromwell signed his treaty with the French king; and then no mention was made of Dunkirk. The protector treated with the French king as a prince with his equal, and obliged him to acknowledge his title of protector. His secretary signed before the French plenipotentiary on the copy of the treaty which remained in England; but he treated as a real superior, when he obliged the French king to compel Charles II. and his brother the duke of York, both grandsons to Henry IV. (and to whom France consequently owed an asylum) to quit his dominions.

While Mazarin was engaged in this treaty, Charles II. asked one of his nieces in marriage; but the bad condition of this prince's affairs, which had obliged him to take this step, was the cause of his meeting with a refusal; and the cardinal was even suspected of an intention to marry the very niece, whom he had refused to the king of England, to Cromwell's son. This however is certain, that when he afterwards found Charles's affairs take a more favourable turn, he was for setting this match on foot again; but then he met with a refusal in his turn.

The mother of these two princes, Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry the Great, who was left in France destitute of all assistance, saw herself

herself reduced to beg of the cardinal to intercede with Cromwell, that she might at least receive her jointure. It was certainly the most extreme and grievous of all humiliations, to be obliged to sue for subsistence to the man who had spilt her husband's blood on a scaffold. Mazarin, after some few remonstrances in the queen's favour to the English court, acquainted her that he had not been able to obtain any thing. She therefore continued in poverty at Paris, and with the shame and mortification of having implored Cromwell's pity, while her sons went into the army commanded by the prince of Condé and Don John of Austria, to learn the art of war against France, which had abandoned them.

The children of Charles I. thus driven out of France, took refuge in Spain. Upon this the Spanish ministry loudly inveighed, both by word of mouth and writing, in all courts, and especially at Rome, against the cardinal's behaviour, who, they said, had sacrificed all laws, divine and humane, all honour and religion, to the murderer of a king, and had driven out of France Charles II. and the duke of York, tho' cousins to Lewis XIV. to please their father's executioner. No other reply was made to these outcries of the Spaniards, than the producing the very offers which they themselves had made to the protector.

The war was still carried on in Flanders with various success. Turenne having laid siege to Valenciennes, together with the marechal de la Ferté, experienced the same reverse of fortune which had beset Condé before Arras. The

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prince,

July, 17, prince, seconded at that time by
 1656 Don John of Austria, more worthy
 of fighting by his side than the arch-
 duke had been, forced the marshal de la Ferté's
 lines, took him prisoner, and delivered Valen-
 ciennes. Turenne then did what Condé had
 done before in a like defeat. He saved the
 routed army, made head every where against
 the enemy, and in less than a month afterwards
 went and laid siege to and took the small town
 of La Capelle: this was perhaps the first time
 that a defeated army had dared to undertake a
 siege.

This march of Turenne's, which was so
 greatly admired, and after which la Capelle
 was taken, was eclipsed by a still finer march
 of Condé's. Turenne had hardly sat down be-
 fore Cambrai, when Condé, at the head of two
 thousand horse, penetrated through the army
 of the besiegers; and, after having
 May 30, routed every thing that attempted
 1658. to stop him, threw himself into the
 town; where he was received by the citizens
 on their knees as their deliverer. Thus did
 these two great men display all the power of
 their military genius in opposition to each other.
 They were equally admired for their retreats,
 for their victories, for their good conduct, and
 even for their faults, which they always knew
 how to repair. By their talents they alternately
 checked the progress of the two monarchies
 whom they served; but the disordered state of
 the finances, both in France and Spain, still
 proved a great obstacle to their success.

At length France acquired a more distin-
 guished superiority, by the league it had made
 with

with Cromwell. On one hand admiral Blake went and burned the Spanish galleons at the Canary islands, and thus deprived them of the only treasures with which they could carry on the war; and, on the other, twenty sail of English ships blocked up the port of Dunkirk, while six thousand veteran soldiers, who had been concerned in the revolution in England, were sent to reinforce Turenne's army.

And now Dunkirk, the most important place of all Flanders was besieged by land and sea. The prince of Condé and Don John of Austria having assembled all their forces, presented themselves before the city, to raise the siege. The eyes of all Europe were attentively fixed on this great event. Cardinal Mazarin carried Lewis XIV. into the neighbourhood of the theatre of war, without suffering him to act a part therein, though he was then upwards of twenty years old. The king remained in Calais while his army attacked that of Spain near the Downa, and gained June 14,
1658 the most glorious victory which had been known since that of Rocroi.

The prince of Condé's genius could do nothing that day against the superior forces of France and England. The Spanish army was destroyed, and Dunkirk capitulated soon after. The king and his minister repaired thither, to see the garrison march out. The cardinal would not permit Lewis XIV. to appear either in the light of a king or a warrior. He had no money to distribute among the soldiers, and indeed had hardly proper attendants: whenever he went with the army, he used to eat at Mazarin's, or at the viscount Turenne's table.

This neglect of the royal dignity was not the effect of any contempt that Lewis XIV. had for shew and parade, but from the bad state of his affairs, and the care taken by the cardinal to arrogate all splendor and authority to himself.

Lewis took possession of Dunkirk only to deliver it up to Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador. Mazarin endeavoured, by some finessè to elude the treaty, and prevent the place being given up to the English; but Lockhart's threats and the English resolution got the better of Italian cunning.

It has been asserted by several persons, that the cardinal, who had arrogated to himself the affair of Arras, wanted to prevail on Turenne to yield him likewise the honour of this battle. Du Bec-Crespin, count of Moret, was sent, they say, in the minister's name, to propose to the general to write a letter, by which it might appear that the cardinal himself had laid down the whole plan of operations. Turenne received these insinuations with the contempt they deserved, and would not consent to avow a thing which would have brought disgrace on a general, and ridicule on a churchman. Mazarin, after this weakness, had that of continuing at enmity with Turenne till the day of his death.

Sept. 13, Some time after the siege of Dun-
1658 kirk died Cromwell, aged 55 years,
in the midst of the vast projects he
had formed, for the establishment of his own
power and the glory of the nation he governed.
He had humbled the Dutch, dictated the condi-
tions of a treaty with the Portuguese, conquered
Spain,

Spain, and forced France to solicit his protection. Not long before his death, on being informed of the haughty manner in which his admirals behaved at Lisbon, "I am resolved, said he, to make the English republic as much respected as that of Rome was in former times." It is false what some writers pretend to tell us, that he played the enthusiast and false prophet on his death-bed*; but it is certain, that he died with the same intrepidity of soul which he had always shewn during his lifetime. He was interred like a lawful sovereign, and left behind him the reputation of a great king, which threw a veil over the crimes of the usurper.

Sir William Temple pretends that Cromwell designed before he died to enter into an alliance with Spain against France, and to recover Calais by the help of the Spanish arms, as he had got Dunkirk by those of France. Nothing was more agreeable to his character and politics; he would have rendered himself the idol of the English, by thus stripping, one after another, two nations whom they equally hated. Death however at once overturned his great designs, his tyranny, and the English greatness. It is observable, that the court of France went in mourning for Cromwell; and that mademoiselle, the duke of Orleans' daughter, was the only

* Begging our author's pardon, Cromwell had been an enthusiast from the beginning, and became so much of a prophet on his death-bed, that even when the physicians despaired of his life, "I tell you, (cries he) I shall not die of this distemper: favourable answers have been returned from heaven, not only to my own supplications, but likewise to those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord."

person who refused to pay this mark of respect to the memory of the murderer of a king, her relation.

Richard Cromwell succeeded his father in the protectorship, without any opposition, and in the same manner as a prince of Wales would have succeeded a king of England.

Richard was a proof that the fate of a kingdom frequently depends upon the character of one man. His genius was wholly different from that of his father Oliver; he was possessed of all the meek virtues which make the good citizen, and had none of that brutal intrepidity which sacrifices every thing to its own interests. He might have preserved the inheritance which his father had acquired by his labours, if he would have consented to put to death three or four of the principal officers of the army, who opposed his elevation; but he chose rather to lay down the government than to reign by assassination, and lived retired, and almost unknown, till the age of ninety, in a country of which he had once been the sovereign. After his quitting the protectorship he made a voyage to France, where being one day at Montpelier, the prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé, discoursing with him, without knowing who he was, observed, "That Oliver Cromwell was a great man, but that his son Richard was a poor wretch, not to know how to enjoy the fruits of his father's crimes." This Richard however lived contented, whereas his father had never known what happiness was.

Some time before, France had seen another much more extraordinary example of the contempt of a crown in the famous Christina of Sweden,

Sweden, who came to Paris. Every one admired, that a young princess, so worthy of reigning, should quit the sovereign authority for the sake of leading a life of ease and freedom. It is shameful in the Protestant writers to assert, without the least shadow of proof, that she resigned the crown only because she could keep it no longer. She had formed this design from the time she was twenty years of age, and had allowed seven years to bring it to maturity. A resolution so much above all vulgar conception, and which had been formed for such a length of time, ought to stop the mouths of those who reproach her with a levity of disposition, and of having been compelled to this abdication. One of these accusations destroys the other: but every thing great and noble is sure to be attacked by narrow minds.

The extraordinary turn of mind of this princess is sufficiently shewn by her letters. In that which she wrote to Chanut, who had formerly been ambassador from France at her court, she thus expresses herself: "I wore the crown without ostentation, and I resign it with readiness: after this you have nothing to fear for me, my happiness is out of the reach of fortune." She wrote thus to the great Condé: "I think myself as much honoured by your esteem as by the crown I have worn. If after having resigned that, you shall think me less deserving of the other, I will own to you that the tranquillity I have so much desired, will appear dearly bought; but I shall never repent of having purchased it at the price of a crown; nor will ever sully an act which to me appears so glorious, by a mean repentance: and

if perchance you should condemn what I have done, I shall only tell you in excuse, that I should never have resigned the possessions which Fortune bestowed on me, had I judged them necessary to my happiness; and should even have aspired at the sovereignty of the world, could I have been as certain of succeeding or dying in the attempt, as the great Condé would have been."

Such was the soul of this extraordinary personage, and such her stile in our language, which she was but rarely accustomed to speak. She understood eight different languages; she had been the friend and pupil of Descartes, who died in her palace at Stockholm, after having in vain tried to obtain a pension in France, where his works were even forbidden to be read, on account of the only good things which were in them. She invited into her kingdom all who were capable of bringing any knowledge into it; and the vexation of finding no men of learning among her own subjects, had given her a dislike to reigning over a people who were unacquainted with every thing but arms. She judged it more eligible to live privately among thinking men, than to rule over a people who had neither learning nor genius. She patronized and cultivated all the arts, in a country where they were till her time unknown, and designed to make Italy the place of her retreat, where she might indulge herself in the midst of them; and, as they had but just begun to make their appearance in France, she only passed through that kingdom in her way to Rome, where her inclination determined her to fix her abode; and with this view she quitted
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the Lutheran religion for the Catholic. Equally indifferent to either, she made no scruple of outwardly conforming to the sentiments of a people among whom she was desirous of passing her life. She quitted the throne in 1654, and publicly performed the ceremony of her abjuration at Inspruck. She was admired at the French court, though she surpassed all the women there in understanding. The king saw he, and did her the greatest honours; but he did not discourse much with her. He had been bred up in ignorance, and his natural good sense made him bashful.

The only extraordinary thing the ladies and courtiers remarked in this philosophical queen was, that she did not dress after the French fashion, and that she danced ill. The learned found nothing to condemn in her except the murder of Monaldeschi *, her master of the horse,

* John marquis de Monaldeschi was master of the horse to queen Christina, and one of her greatest favourites; but he abused her confidence, and divulged some secrets that concerned her honour and reputation. Christina, having discovered his treachery, condemned him to death while she resided at the palace of Fontainebleau. One day she sent for the superior of the fathers Trinitarians, and in the mean time talked as usual with Monaldeschi in a gallery. When the father arrived, he was followed into the apartment by the captain of her guards and two soldiers. Then Christina produced to the delinquent his own intercepted letters, to prove his infidelity. Having reproached him for his baseness, she desired the priest to dispose him for death. The marquis, who was in the flower of his age, and very unwilling to die, had recourse to prayers, tears, and intreaties, that his life might be spared, even tho' he should be banished from Europe, and live in perpetual exile. The priest joined in his intreaties, and even remon-

horse, whom she caused to be assassinated at Fontainebleau in the second journey she made to France, for some fault he had been guilty of towards her. As she had laid down the sovereign authority, she had no longer a right to do herself justice. She could no longer be considered as a queen who punished a misdemeanour of state, but as a private woman who ended a love-affair by a murder. This infamous and cruel action sullied that philosophy which had made her quit a throne. Had she been in England, she would have been punished ; but the court of France winked at this insult against the royal authority, the law of nations, and humanity.

After Cromwell was dead, and his son Richard deposed, England continued for a year in anarchy and confusion. Charles Gustavus, to whom queen Christina had resigned the kingdom of Sweden, made himself formidable in the North and in Germany. The emperor Fer-

strated on the consequences of her taking such a violent step in a palace belonging to the king of France. She remained inflexible, and withdrew. The father confessed Monaldeschi, and the soldiers falling upon him with their swords, slew him with some difficulty ; for he wore secret armour under his cloaths. Christina caused his body to be decently interred, and masses to be said for the repose of his soul. She attempted to justify what she had done by alledging, that though she had abdicated the crown, she did not divest herself of that royalty which authorised her to punish the treachery of her own domestics. This excuse was not admitted by the French ministry, and she was given to understand that her presence was no longer agreeable in France ; an intimation in consequence of which she returned to Rome, where she effected a match between the niece of Monaldeschi and Matthew de Bourbon, lord of Delmonte,

dinand

Ferdinand died in 1657. His son Leopold, who was seventeen years old, and was already king of Hungary and Bohemia, had not been chosen king of the Romans during his father's lifetime. Mazarin endeavoured to get Lewis XIV. chosen emperor. This was a wild scheme: he ought to have compelled or corrupted the electors into his interest; but France was not in itself sufficiently powerful to seize on the empire, nor rich enough to purchase it; consequently the first overtures of this kind made at Frankfort by the marshal de Grammont and Lionne were laid aside almost as soon as proposed, and Leopold was chosen emperor. All that Mazarin's policy could then effect, was to engage the German princes in a league for securing the observance of the treaties of Munster, and to curb the emperor's authority in the empire.

After the affair of Dunkirk, France became powerful abroad by the reputation of her arms, and the bad condition to which other nations were reduced: but she suffered greatly at home; she was exhausted of money, and in want of peace.

In christian monarchies the state itself is seldom interested in its sovereign's wars. Mercenary armies, raised by the order of a minister, and commanded by generals blindly devoted to his will, carry on several destructive campaigns, without the princes in whose name they fight having the least expectation or even intention of depriving each other of their whole patrimony. The people of the victorious state reap no advantage from the spoils of those who are conquered. They pay all expences, and

are alike sufferers, whether their country be prosperous or unsuccessful. Peace therefore is as necessary to them, even after the greatest victory, as if even their enemies were in possession of all their frontier places.

There were two things wanting for the cardinal to finish his administration happily, the one was to bring about a peace, and the other to secure the tranquility of the nation by marrying the king. The young monarch had been dangerously ill after the campaign of Dunkirk, insomuch that his life was despaired of. The cardinal, who knew he was not liked by monsieur the king's brother, had some intention, at this dangerous conjuncture, of securing his immense riches, and preparing for a retreat. These considerations determined him to marry his royal pupil as soon as possible. Two parties presented themselves at that time; the king of Spain's daughter and the princess of Savoy. The king's heart however had been previously engaged a different way; he was desperately in love with mademoiselle de Mancini, one of the cardinal's nieces, and as he was by nature amorous, positive in his will, and void of experience, it was not unlikely that in the warmth of his passion, he might have determined to marry his favourite mistress.

Madame de Motteville, the queen mother's confidante, whose memoirs carry a great air of truth, pretends that Mazarin was tempted to give way to the king's passion, and place his niece on the throne. He had already married one of his nieces to the prince of Conti, and a second to the duke of Mercœur; and her whom Lewis XIV was so fond of, had been demanded in

in marriage by the king of England *. These were so many encouragements to justify his ambition. Being one day alone with the queen mother, he artfully took opportunity to sound her on this subject. "I am afraid, said he, that the king has a strong inclination to marry my niece." The queen mother, who knew the cardinal perfectly well, presently conjectured that he wished what he affected to fear, and with all the haughtiness of a princess of the Austrian blood, the daughter, wife, and mother of kings, and full of resentment against a minister who seemed to have shaken off all dependence upon her, she made him this reply: "Was the king himself capable of such a meanness, I would instantly put myself, with my second son, at the head of the people against the king and you."

It is said that Mazarin never forgave the queen for this spirited answer: but he was wise enough to fall in with her sentiments, and made a merit of opposing the king's passion; his power did not stand in need of a queen of his own blood to support it. He was even apprehensive of his niece's disposition, and thought he should more effectually secure the authority of his place by shunning the dangerous glory of too greatly exalting his family.

He had in the year 1656 sent Lionne into Spain to bring about a peace, and demand the infanta in marriage; but Don Lewis de Haro, sensible that weak as Spain was, France was not much stronger, had rejected the cardinal's offers. The infanta, who was the child of a

* Charles II. when in exile in France.

former marriage, was destined for young Leopold. The Spanish king had at that time only one son by his second wife, and this young prince was of so infirm a constitution, that it was imagined he could hardly live. It was therefore determined that the infanta, who was likely to become heiress to such large dominions should transfer her claims to the house of Austria, rather than to the family of an enemy: but Philip IV. having afterwards another son, (Don Philip Prospero) and his queen being again with child, there did not appear so much danger in giving the infanta to the French king; besides, the battle of Dunkirk had made him wish for a peace.

The Spanish court then promised the infanta to Lewis XIV. and desired a cessation of arms. Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro met on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, in the Isle of Pheasants. Notwithstanding the design of their meeting was no less than that of settling the marriage of the king of France, and a general peace, a whole month was taken up in determining the disputes which arose about precedence, and in adjusting certain points of ceremony. The cardinals insisted upon being equal with kings, and superior to other sovereign princes. France with more justice pretended to the preheminance over all other kings. However, don Lewis de Haro kept up a perfect equality between Mazarin and himself, and between the crowns of France and Spain.

The conferences lasted four months, in which don Lewis and Mazarin displayed the whole strength of their politics. The cardinal excelled in finesse, Don Lewis was remarkable for his

his deliberation. The former never spoke but with a double meaning, the latter very sparingly. The Italian minister's talent lay in endeavouring to surprise; that of the Spaniard, in guarding against a surprise. It is reported that in speaking of the cardinal he said, "There is one great fault in his politics, he is always endeavouring to deceive."

Such is the vicissitude of human affairs, that there are hardly two articles of this famous treaty of the Pyrenees now subsisting. The French king kept Roussillon, which he would always have kept without this peace; but with respect to Flanders, the Spanish monarchy has now nothing left there. Our court (of France) was at that time necessarily in friendship with Portugal; we are now no longer so; every thing is changed. Though Don Lewis de Haro accused cardinal Mazarin of deceit, the world has since acknowledged that he had the gift of foresight. He had for a long time formed the design of an alliance between France and Spain, witness that famous letter of his which he wrote during the conferences at Munster. "If his most christian majesty could have the Low Countries and Franche Comté, as a marriage portion with the infanta, in that case we might aspire to the Spanish succession, notwithstanding any renunciation made in the infanta's name; neither would it be a very distant prospect, seeing that there is only the life of the prince, her brother, to exclude her from it." This prince was Balthazar, who died in 1649.

It is plain that the cardinal was deceived, in supposing that the court of Spain would give the Low Countries and the Franche Comté
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with the infanta. There was not a single town stipulated for a dowry with her; on the contrary, we restored several considerable towns to the Spanish monarchy, which we had taken from it during the course of the war; such as St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, Oudenarde, and some other places. The cardinal however was right in supposing that the renunciation would one day be of no effect; but those who give him the honour of this prediction, suppose him to have likewise foreseen that prince Balthazar would die in 1649; that afterwards the three children by the second wife, should all die in the cradle; that Charles, the fifth of all these male children, should die without issue; and that this Austrian king should one day make a will in favour of Lewis XIV's. grandson. But the truth is, that cardinal Mazarin foresaw what value would be set upon a renunciation, in case the male issue of Philip IV. should all fail; and this was justified by a series of extraordinary events, above fifty years afterwards.

The infanta Maria Theresa, who might have had for her dowry those towns which France by this treaty of marriage was obliged to restore, instead of that had only five hundred thousand golden crowns for her fortune: it cost the king more to go and receive her on the frontiers. However, these five hundred thousand crowns, worth at that time about two millions five hundred thousand livres, were the subject of much altercation between the two ministers, and at last we never received more than one hundred thousand francs.

So far was this marriage from being of any real present advantage, excepting that of peace,
that

that the infanta renounced for ever all right or claim to any of her father's territories, and Lewis XIV. ratified this renunciation in the most solemn manner, and caused it to be registered in parliament.

These renunciations, and a portion of five hundred thousand crowns, seemed to be customary clauses in the marriage-contracts between the infantas of Spain and the kings of France. Queen Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III. was married to Lewis XIII. on the same conditions; and when Isabella, daughter of our Henry the Great, was married to Philip IV. king of Spain, there were no more than five hundred thousand crowns agreed upon for a portion with her, and no part of that was ever paid; so that there did not seem at that time to be any great advantage in these grand marriages.

Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, of whom France and Spain had great reason to complain, or rather who had great reason to complain of them, was included in this treaty; but on the footing of an unfortunate prince, whom they punished because he could not make himself feared. France restored him his dominions, after dismantling Nanci, and prohibiting him from keeping any troops. Don Lewis de Haro obliged cardinal Mazarin to procure the prince of Condé's pardon, threatening otherwise to bestow on him the sovereignty of Rocroi, Chatelet, and other places in which he was in possession. Thus France at once gained these towns and the great Condé. However, he lost his post of master of the household to the king, and returned with little else than glory.

Charles

Charles II. the titular king of England, who was still more unfortunate than the duke of Lorraine, came to the Pyrenees, while they were negotiating the peace, to implore the assistance of the cardinal and don Lewis de Haro. He flattered himself that their kings, who were his cousin-germans, being now in alliance, would, as Cromwell was no more, have the courage to revenge a cause which concerned every crowned head ; but he could not even obtain an interview with either of the ministers. Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador, was at St. John de Luz, and made himself still respected, notwithstanding the death of his master ; and the two ministers fearing to disoblige him, refused to see Charles. They thought it impossible that he should ever be restored, and were persuaded that all the English factions, though at variance among themselves, would unanimously join to exclude for ever the kingly authority ; but herein they were both deceived, and fortune a few months afterwards brought about that which these ministers might have had the honour of undertaking. Charles was recalled by the English, without a single potentate having interfered, either to prevent the murder of the father, or the son's restoration. He landed at Dover, and was received by twenty thousand of his subjects on their knees. I have been told by some old people who were upon the spot, that almost every one present was bathed in tears. There never was perhaps a more affecting sight, nor a more sudden revolution. This change was brought about in less time than
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the treaty of the Pyrenees took in concluding ; and Charles II. was in quiet possession of the English throne before Lewis XIV. was even married by proxy.

And now cardinal Mazarin conducted the king and his new consort back to Paris. His behaviour on this occasion was like that of a father who had married his son, without allowing him to have the management of his estate. This minister returned more powerful and more jealous of his authority and dignity than ever. He no longer gave the upper hand to the princes of the blood, in a third place, as formerly ; and he who had behaved towards don Lewis de Haro as his equal, attempted to treat the great Condé as his inferior. He now appeared in public with royal pomp, having, besides his ordinary guard, a company of musqueteers, the same which is now the second company in the king's musqueteers. There was no longer any access to be had to the royal person ; and whosoever was so little of a courtier as to apply to the king for any favour, was surely ruined. The queen-mother, who had so long been this minister's firm protectress, against the whole French nation, saw herself left without credit, as soon as he was no longer in want of her assistance. The king, her son, who had been brought up in a blind submission to this minister, was unable to throw off the yoke she had imposed upon him as well as herself : she had a respect for her own work, and Lewis XIV. never dared to reign while Mazarin was alive.

A minister is excuseable for the evil he may do when the helm of the government is forced into

into his hands by storms of state; but when there is a calm, he is answerable for all the good he does not do. Mazarin did good to no one but himself and those related to him: of the eight years of absolute and undisturbed authority which he enjoyed, from his last return till the day of his death, not one was distinguished by any honourable or useful establishment; for the college of the four nations was erected only in consequence of his last will. He managed the finances like a steward whose master is immersed in debt.

The king would sometimes ask Fouquet for money, who used to answer, "Sire, there is none in your majesty's coffers, but my lord cardinal can lend you some." Mazarin was worth about two hundred millions, according to the present value of money. It is said, in several memoirs, that he acquired great part of his wealth by means which were beneath the dignity of his post; and that he obliged those who fitted out privateers to allow him a share in the profits of their cruizes: this has never been proved; but the Dutch suspected him of something of this nature, a suspicion they would never have entertained of his predecessor, cardinal Richelieu.

It is said that he was troubled with some scruples of conscience on his death-bed, though he died in appearance with great courage. He was certainly in apprehension for his riches, of which he made a full donation to the king, supposing that his majesty would restore them to him again; in this he judged right, for three days afterwards the king returned him back his deed of gift. Soon afterwards he died, seemingly

ingly unregretted by any one but the king, who had already learnt the art of dissembling. The yoke began to sit heavy upon his shoulders; and he grew impatient to reign; nevertheless he thought it prudent to wear the appearance of concern for a death which put him in possession of his throne.

Lewis XIV. and his court went into mourning for the cardinal; a very extraordinary mark of honour, and what Henry IV. had paid to the memory of the fair Gabrielle d'Etrees.

We shall not undertake in this place to examine whether cardinal Mazarin was a great minister or not; we leave his actions to speak for him, and posterity to judge; but we cannot forbear opposing that mistaken notion, which ascribes a more than common understanding, and an almost divine genius, to those who have governed great kingdoms with tolerable success. It is not a superior share of penetration that makes statesmen, it is their particular character; all men that have any tolerable degree of understanding can nearly discern what is their interests. A common citizen of Amsterdam, or Berne, knows as much on this head as Sejanus, Ximenes, Buckingham, Richelieu, or Mazarin: but our conduct and our undertakings depend wholly upon the temperament of our souls, and our successes depend upon fortune.

For example: if one with a genius like that of pope Alexander VI. or his son Borgia, had undertaken to reduce Rochelle, he would have invited the principal citizens of the place into his camp, under the sanction of the most solemn oaths, and then have murdered them all. Ma-

zarin would have got possession of the town two or three years later, by gaining over some of the citizens, and sowing dissention among the rest. Don Lewis de Haro would never have hazarded the undertaking. Richelieu, after the example of Alexander, built a mole in the sea, and entered as a conqueror; but a stronger tide than usual, or a little more diligence on the part of the English, would have saved Rochelle and have made Richelieu pass for a mad adventurer.

We may judge of a man's character by the nature of his undertakings. We may safely affirm that Richelieu's soul was full of pride and revenge; that Mazarin was prudent, supple, and avaritious; but to know how far a minister is a man of understanding, we must either have frequently heard him discourse, or have read what he has written. That which we every day see among courtiers frequently happens amongst statesmen. He who has the greatest talents often fails, while he who is of a more patient, resolute, supple, and equable disposition, succeeds.

In reading Mazarin's letters, and cardinal de Retz's memoirs, we may easily perceive de Retz to have been the superior genius; nevertheless, the former attained the summit of power, and the latter was banished. In a word, it is a certain truth, that, to be a powerful minister, little more is required than a middling understanding, good sense, and fortune; but, to be a good minister, the prevailing passion of the soul must be a love for the public good; and he is the greatest statesman who leaves behind him the most noble monuments of public utility.

C H A P. CLXXI.

LEWIS XIV. governs alone. He obliges the SPANISH Branch of the House of AUSTRIA to yield him the Precedency every where, and the court of ROME to give him Satisfaction. He purchases DUNKIRK, sends Succours to the EMPEROR, the DUTCH, and the PORTUGUESE, and renders his Kingdom powerful and flourishing.

NEVER was a court so full of intrigues and expectations as that of France, while cardinal Mazarin lay dying. Those among the women who had any claim to beauty, flattered themselves with the hopes of governing a young prince, who was only two and twenty years old, and whom love had already influenced to make a tender of his crown to a favourite mistress. The young courtiers imagined that they should easily renew the reign of favourites. Every one of the officers of state thought that he should fill the first place in the ministry, not one of them suspecting that a king, who had been brought up in such an ignorance of state-affairs, would venture to take the burthen of government upon his own shoulders. Mazarin had kept the king in a state of nonage as long as he was able, and had not till very lately let him into the mystery of reigning, and then only because he had insisted upon being instructed.

They were so far from wishing to be governed by their sovereign, that of all those who had been concerned with Mazarin in the administration,

nistration, not one applied to the king to know when he would give them an audience ; on the contrary, every one asked him “ Whom they were to apply to ? ” and were not a little surprised when Lewis answered, “ To me ; ” their astonishment was still encreased, on finding him persevere. He had for some time consulted his own strength, and made a trial in secret of his capacity for reigning. His resolution once taken, he maintained it to the last moment of his life. He appointed every minister proper limits to his power, obliging them to give him an account of every thing at certain hours, shewing them so much confidence as was necessary to give a proper weight to their office, and carefully watching over them to prevent their abuse of it. He began by restoring order in the finances, which had been miserably mismanaged through a continuance of rapine.

He likewise established a proper discipline among the troops. His court was at once magnificent and decent ; even the pleasures appeared there with a degree of lustre and greatness. The arts were all encouraged and employed, to the glory of the king and kingdom.

This is not the place for painting his character in a private life, nor in the domestic government of his kingdom : we shall reserve this for a part by itself. It is sufficient to say, that the people, who, since the death of Henry IV. had never seen a true king, and who detested the authority of a prime minister, were filled with admiration and hope, when they saw Lewis XIV. do that, at twenty-two years of age, which Henry did at fifty. Had Henry IV. had a prime minister, he would have been lost,

lost, because the hatred against a private man would have awakened twenty different factions, which would have become too powerful. If Lewis XIII. had not had a minister, that prince, whose feeble and sickly constitution made his soul weak and enervated, would have sunk beneath the weight of government; Lewis XIV. might or might not have had a prime-minister without any danger. There were not the least traces left of the old factions which had distracted the state. There was now only a master and subjects in France; Lewis, at the very beginning, shewed that he aspired after glory, and that he was resolved to make himself respected both at home and abroad.

The antient kings of Europe had always pretended to an exact equality with each other; this was very natural: but the kings of France always claimed that precedence which was due to the antiquity of their race and kingdom; and if they yielded place to the emperors, it was because mankind have hardly ever the courage to abolish a long established custom. The head of the German republic, though an elective prince, and has very little power of his own, has undoubtedly the precedence of all kings, in virtue of his title of Cæsar and heir to Charlemagne. His German chancery does not even give the title of majesty to any other crowned head. The kings of France might dispute the precedence with the emperors, as France had founded the real western empire, of which the name only subsists in Germany. They could plead not only the superiority of an hereditary crown over an elective dignity, but the advantage of being descended in an uninterrupted

succession of sovereigns, who reigned over a great monarchy several centuries before that any of those houses who are now in possession of crowns, had attained to the least degree of dignity. However, they were determined to assert their right of precedency over all the other potentates of Europe. They alledged in support of their claim the title of Most Christian, to which the Spanish kings opposed theirs of Most Catholic; and since Charles V. had had a king of France prisoner at Madrid, the Spanish pride had made them more tenacious than ever of their rank. The English and Swedes, who plead none of these surnames at present, acknowledged as little as was possible this superiority.

Rome was the place where these pretensions used formerly to be canvassed; the popes, who disposed of kingdoms by a bull, imagined they had a much greater right to settle the rank between crowned heads. This court, where every thing passes in ceremony, was the tribunal for trying these varieties of greatness. France had always had the superiority there when she was more powerful than Spain; but since the reign of Charles V. Spain had let slip no opportunity of maintaining an equality. The dispute was left undetermined; the precedency at a procession, or an elbow-chair placed near the altar, or opposite to the pulpit, were matters of triumph, and established titles to that precedency. The chimerical point of honour in these articles was at that time carried to as great extremes between crowned heads, as duels were among private persons.

It

It happened, that at the entry of a Swedish ambassador at London, the count d'Estrade, ambassador from France, and the baron Watteville, ambassador from the court of Spain, disputed the way. The Spaniard having more money, and a greater train of servants, gained the English populace over to his interest, who began to kill the French ambassador's coach-horses, and soon afterwards fell upon his people, who being wounded took to their heels, and left the Spaniards to proceed in triumph with their swords drawn.

Lewis XIV. being informed of this insult offered to his ambassador, immediately recalled the minister he had at Madrid, and ordered the Spanish ambassador to leave France; broke off the conferences which were then carrying on in Flanders on the subject of the limits, and sent word to his father-in-law Philip IV. that, unless he acknowledged the superiority of the French crown, and repaired the affront which had been offered its ambassador, by a public satisfaction, he would instantly renew the war. Philip IV. was not willing to plunge his kingdom again into a fresh war for the sake of an ambassador's precedency: he sent the count of Fuentes to declare to the king at Fontainebleau, in presence of all the foreign ministers who were then in France, "That the Spanish ministers should no longer dispute the precedency with those of France." This was not clearly acknowledging the king's pre-eminence, but it was a sufficient avowal of the weakness of the Spanish court. This court, which still preserved its haughtiness, murmured for a long time at its

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humiliation. Since then several Spanish ministers have renewed their old pretensions, and actually obtained an equality at Nimeguen ; but Lewis XIV. at that time acquired by his resolution a real superiority in Europe, by convincing all the powers how much he was to be feared.

He had scarcely concluded this small affair with so much dignity, when he shewed still more on an occasion in which his glory seemed not so much interested. During the long wars carried on against the Spaniards in Italy, the behaviour of the young French gentry had inspired the cautious and jealous Italians with the notion of their being a headstrong and impetuous people. The Italians looked upon all the nations by whom theirs was over-run as barbarians, and the French as barbarians more gay, but at the same time more dangerous than the rest, as they introduced, into all families where they came, a taste for pleasures, with an air of contempt, and debauchery with outrage ; in short, they were dreaded every where, and especially at Rome.

The duke de Crequi, the French ambassador at the pope's court, had greatly displeased the people of Rome by his arrogant behaviour : his servants, a set of people who always carry the faults of their masters to extremes, committed the same disorders in Rome as the unbridled youth of France did in Paris, who at that time prided themselves in attacking the city-watch every night.

Some of this nobleman's servants took it into their heads to fall sword in hand upon a party of the Corsi, (who are the city-guard at Rome)

and put them to flight." The whole body of the Corsi, incensed at this ill usage, and spirited up by Don Mario Chigi, brother to Alexander VII. the reigning pope, who hated the duke of Crequi, went with a multitude of his followers in arms, and besieged the duke in his own house. They even fired upon the ambassadress' coach, as she was driving into her palace, killed one of her pages, and wounded several of her other servants. The duke de Crequi upon this left Rome, loudly accusing the pope's relation, and even his holiness himself, of having countenanced this insult and murder. The pope deferred giving him satisfaction as long as he possibly could, in the persuasion that there requires only a little temporising with the French, for every thing to be forgotten. At the end of about four months he caused one of the Corsican guard, and a Sbirri, to be hanged, and banished the governor of Rome, who was suspected of having authorised these violent proceedings: but he was in no small consternation when he learnt that the French king threatened to lay siege to Rome; that he had already ordered troops to be transported into Italy for that purpose; and that the marshal du Pleffis-Pralin was appointed general. This affair was become a national quarrel, and the king was determined to support the dignity of his crown. The pope, before he could be brought to make the concessions demanded of him, implored the mediation of all the catholic princes, and at the same time did all in his power to stir them up against Lewis XIV. but the situation of affairs were at

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that time unfavourable for the holy father. The emperor was attacked by the Turks; and Spain was engaged in an unsuccessful war against the Portuguese.

The court of Rome therefore only irritated the king, without being able to hurt him. The parliament of Provence summoned the pope to appear, and seized upon his county of Avignon. At any other time such an insult upon the papal dignity would have been followed by a peal of excommunications from the Vatican, but those arms were now become equally useless and ridiculous. The holy father found himself under the necessity of giving way, and was obliged to banish his own brother from Rome; to send his nephew cardinal Chigi, in character of legate *a latere*, to make the king satisfaction; to break the Corsican guard; and to erect a pillar in the city of Rome, with an inscription expressing the injury and reparation.

Cardinal Chigi was the first legate, who had ever been sent from the papal court to ask pardon. Before that, the legates had always been sent to give laws, and impose the tax of the tenth penny. The king did not content himself with accepting these temporary ceremonies, in return for an injury offered, nor yet with monuments which are equally so, (for some years afterwards he permitted this pyramid to be destroyed) but he obliged the court of Rome to restore Castro and Ronciglione to the duke of Parma; to indemnify the duke of Modena for his claims on Commachio; and thus, from an insult offered him, he derived the solid honour of being the protector of the Italian princes.

While

While he thus supported his dignity, he forgot not to increase his power. The good management of his finances, under Colbert, enabled him to purchase Dunkirk and Mardyke of the king of England, for five millions of livres, at twenty six livres ten sous the mark. Charles II. who was a spendthrift and a beggar, to his eternal disgrace sold this place, which his subjects had purchased with their blood. Lord chancellor Hyde, who was accused of having advised or connived at this meanness, was banished by the English parliament, who frequently punish the crimes of favourites, and sometimes even pass sentence upon its kings.

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Lewis set thirty thousand men to work to fortify Dunkirk both towards land and sea. A large basin was dug between the town and the citadel, capable of containing several men of war; so that the English had hardly sold this place, when it became the object of their terror. A short time afterwards, the king obliged the duke of Lorraine to give him up the strong hold of Marsal. This unfortunate prince, who, though in some reputation as a soldier, was of a weak, fickle, and imprudent disposition, had lately made a treaty, by which he gave the dutchy of Lorraine to France after his death, on condition that the king should permit him to raise a million upon the territory, which he gave up; and the princes of the blood-royal of Lorraine should take rank as princes of the blood of France. This treaty, which was in vain registered by the parliament of Paris, served only to produce new instances of levity on the side of the duke,

1663

Aug.
1663

who in the end thought himself very happy to give up Marfal, and throw himself upon the king's clemency.

Lewis encreased his dominions even in peace, and always kept himself in readines for war, fortifying the frontier towns, augmenting the number of his troops, keeping them well disciplined, and frequently reviewing them in person.

The Turks were then a very formidable people in Europe; they atacked the emperor and the Venetians at one and the same time. It has been a maxim in politics with the kings of France ever since Francis I. to be in alliance with the Turkish emperors, not only on account of the advantage arising to their trade, but for the sake of preventing the house of Austria from becoming too powerful. However, a Christian king could not well refuse his assistance to the emperor, when so hard pressed. It was the interest of France that the Turks should raise disturbances in Hungary, but not that they should get possession of it; and, lastly, the treaties in which Lewis was engaged with the empire made this step as indispensable as it was honourable to him.

Lewis then sent six thousand men into Hungary, under the command of the count of Coligni, the only remaining branch of the family of Coligni, formerly so famous in our civil wars, and who perhaps deserves to be as much renowned as the admiral for his valour and virtuous qualifications. He was strictly connected by friendship with the great Condé; and not all the offers of cardinal Mazarin could ever make him fail in what he owed to his friend.

He

He was accompanied by the flower of the French nobility ; and, among others, by the young Feuillade, a man of an enterprising disposition, and unquenchable thirst for riches and glory. These went all together into Hungary, to serve under general Montecuculi, who was making head against the Turkish vizir Kiuperli, and who afterwards, when he served against France, counterbalanced the reputation of the great Turenne. A great battle was fought at Saint Gothard on the banks of the Raab, between the Imperial and Turkish armies, in which the French performed such prodigies of valour, that the Germans themselves, who were not fond of them, could not help doing them justice. The Germans however are not treated with the same justice by those writers, who pretend to ascribe the honour of the victory wholly to the French.

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1663

The king, while he thus placed his greatness in openly assisting the emperor, and raising the glory of the French arms, made a point of politics in secretly succouring the Portuguese against the king of Spain. Cardinal Mazarin had solemnly given up the cause of Portugal by the Pyrenean treaty ; but the Spanish court, having been guilty of several little tacit infractions of that treaty ; the French, in their turn, made a more bold and decisive one. Marshal Schomberg, a foreigner and a Huguenot by religion, was sent over to Portugal with four thousand French soldiery, who, under pretence of being in the pay of the Portuguese, were in fact maintained by the French king's money. These French troops, in conjunction with a

June 1664 body of Portuguese, gained a complete victory over the Spanish army at Villa Viciosa, by which the house of Braganza was fixed on the throne of Portugal. Lewis now began to be looked upon as a warlike and politic prince; and Europe stood in dread of him even before he had declared war.

By the same policy, he eluded the performance of the promises he had made, to join the few ships he had at that time with the Dutch fleet. He had entered into an alliance with the states-general, in the year 1662, about which time that republic had renewed a war with England, on the vain and idle subject of the honour of the flags, and its real claim to a trade in the Indies; Lewis beheld with pleasure these two maritime powers sending fleets of an hundred sail every year to destroy each other, by the most obstinate fights that had ever been known, which only tended to the weakening of both sides. One of these

June, 11, 12, and 13, anno 1666. engagements lasted for three days, and here it was that the

Dutch admiral de Ruyter acquired the reputation of being the greatest seaman that had yet appeared. This was the same who burnt the finest ships the English nation had, even in their own harbours, not above four leagues distant from London. He made the Dutch flag triumphant at sea*, where the English

* That the Dutch admirals and De Ruyter in general behaved with great gallantry and conduct in the course of this war, is not to be denied; but that the Dutch wrested the empire of the sea from England, we cannot allow. In the first battle of this war, fought in the year 1665, the

lish had hitherto always been the masters, and where Lewis XIV. was as yet nothing.

The empire of the sea was for some time divided between these two nations. They were then the only people who rightly under-

the duke of York gained a complete victory over Opdam and Van Tromp. The second engagement between prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle on one part, and the admirals De Ruyter and Van Tromp on the other, fought in the year 1666, was a drawn battle; after which both sides claimed the victory, though it must be owned that the English sustained the greatest loss. This battle was fought in the beginning of June; and about the end of July, De Ruyter and Van Tromp were defeated by prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle. Admiral Holmes insulted the coast of Holland, burned two ships of war, and a great number of merchant ships in the river Vlie, and making a descent on Schelling, reduced the town of Brandaris to ashes. With respect to the boasted exploit of burning the English ships in the river Medway, this is a true state of the case. The conferences for a peace were already opened at Breda, and the chief articles of the treaty agreed upon. Charles II. looking upon the peace as already concluded, and being desirous of converting part of the parliamentary supply to his own private use, ordered the large ships to be unrigged, keeping only a small squadron in commission. De Ruyter, taking advantage of his security, sailed from the Texel with fifty ships of the line, silenced the small fort at Sheerness, broke down a chain drawn across the mouth of the Medway, destroyed three guard-ships moored within side of chain, sailed up the river to Upnore castle, which they easily reduced, together with three ships of the line, which were set on fire. After this exploit, De Ruyter made an unsuccessful attempt upon Portsmouth, and another upon Plymouth, took some merchant ships, insulted the coast, and domineered in the channel, till the treaty was concluded. In the second war with the Dutch, the fight of Solebay ended to the disadvantage of De Ruyter, who retired in the night. The second, third, and fourth were drawn battles,

flood

stood the art of building ships, and employing them either for trade or war. France, during Richelieu's ministry, thought herself powerful at sea, because, out of about threescore vessels, which was then the whole of its marine, it had about thirty fit to send to sea, the largest of which mounted only seventy guns. In Mazarin's administration, they purchased what few ships they had from the Dutch. They were in want of sailors, officers, and manufactories, both for building and fitting out ships. The king with incredible diligence set about repairing the ruined condition of the marine, and to supply his kingdom with all it wanted; but in 1664 and 1665, while the English and Dutch covered the ocean with near three hundred sail of large men of war, he had not above fifteen or sixteen, and those of the smallest rates, which were employed under the duke of Beaufort against the Barbary corsairs; and when the states-general pressed Lewis XIV. to join his fleet to theirs, there was only one fire-ship in Brest harbour, which it was shameful to send, till upon their repeated remonstrances it was at last sent. This was no small disgrace to the French nation; but Lewis, by his extraordinary vigilance, speedily and effectually removed it.

But he furnished the states with much more essential and honourable succours by land; he sent six thousand French to defend them against Christopher Gerard Van Galen, bishop of Munster, a prelate of a warlike disposition, and implacable in his enmity, who was paid by England to distress the Dutch; but Lewis made them pay dearly for this assistance, and behaved towards them

them like a great man in power, who sells his protection to a body of rich merchants. Colbert made them accountable, not only for the pay of these troops, but even for the charges of an embassy, which was sent to England to conclude a peace for them with Charles II. Never were succours given with a worse grace, nor accepted with less thankfulness.

The king having thus exercised his troops in martial discipline, formed a number of good officers by the campaigns in Hungary, Holland, and Portugal, and asserted the honour of his name, and made it respected at Rome, beheld not a single potentate of whom he had occasion to stand in awe. England, visited by a plague, which laid waste the whole kingdom, and London its capital reduced to ashes by a fatal conflagration, which was falsely charged upon the Roman catholics; the prodigality and continual indigence of Charles II. which proved as fatal to his affairs as the scourges of pestilence and fire; made France perfectly easy with respect to that nation. The emperor had scarcely recovered the losses he had suffered in the war with the Turk. The Spanish king Philip IV. being on the point of death, and his kingdom in as weak a condition as himself, Lewis XIV. remained the only powerful and formidable sovereign in Europe. He was young, rich, well served, blindly obeyed, and burnt with impatience to signalize himself and to become a conqueror.

CHAP. CLXXII.

The Conquest of FLANDERS.

THE king was not long without an opportunity he so earnestly desired. His father-in-law, Philip IV. died ; this prince had by his first wife, sister to Lewis XIII. the princess Maria-Theresa, who was married to her cousin, Lewis XIV. by which match the Spanish monarchy fell at length into the house of Bourbon, which had been so long its enemy. By his second marriage, he had Charles II. a weak and unhealthy child, but who lived to inherit his father's crown, being the only surviving of three male children, the other two having died in their infancy. Lewis XIV. pretended that Flanders and the Franche-Comté, two provinces belonging to the kingdom of Spain, ought by the laws of those provinces to devolve to his wife, notwithstanding her former renunciation. Were the causes of kings to be tried by the laws of nations, before an impartial tribunal, perhaps this affair might have appeared a little doubtful

Lewis submitted his claims to the examination of his council, and the body of theologians, who declared them indisputable ; but the council and confessor of Philip IV's widow, thought them very ill founded. This princess had a very powerful argument in her favour ; the express law made by Charles V. but Charles V's laws were very little attended to by the court of France.

One of the pretexts made use of by the French king's council was, that the five hundred thousand
crowns.

crowns which had been granted in dowry with his wife, had never been payed; but they had forgot at the same time, that the marriage portion of Henry IV's daughter had likewise never been payed. The two courts at first waged a paper war with each other, in which the nicest calculations, and most learned arguments were displayed on both sides; but reasons of state silenced all other pleas.

The king confiding more in strength than arguments, marched in person into 1667 Flanders, as a place he was sure of conquering, at the head of thirty-five thousand men; while another body of eight thousand was dispatched towards Dunkirk, and a third, consisting of four thousand, to Luxembourg. Turenne had the command of this army, under his majesty. Colbert had multiplied the resources of the state, to furnish the necessary expences. Louvois, the new secretary at war, had made immense preparations for carrying on the campaign, and magazines of all kinds were distributed over the frontiers. He was the first who introduced the advantageous method of supplying the army by magazines, which the weak condition of the government had hitherto rendered impracticable. Whatever place the king chose to lay siege to, or whithersoever he turned his arms, he was sure of finding supplies and subsistence ready. The quarters for the troops were all fixed, and their marches regulated. The officers were all kept close to their duty, by the strict discipline which this minister caused to be observed amongst them: and the presence of a young monarch, who was the idol of his army,

army, made the strictness of their duty light, and even pleasing to them. The military degree became a right more inviolably observed than even that of birth. It was the man's services and not his family that was considered; a thing which had hitherto been rarely seen. By this means an officer however inconsiderable in point of birth, met with the encouragement due to his merit; and those of the most exalted rank had no reason for complaint. The infantry, who sustained all the weight of the war, since the disuse of lances, shared with the cavalry in those rewards which they had till then been in sole possession of. These new maxims in the government inspired every one with a new kind of courage.

The king, assisted by a general and minister of equal abilities, both jealous of each other, and striving who should best serve him, at the head of the best troops in Europe, and newly engaged in an alliance with Portugal, with all those advantages attacks an ill defended province of a ruined and distracted kingdom. He had only his mother-in-law, Philip IV's widow to deal with, and she a weak woman, whose unfortunate administration left her kingdom defenceless. She had made her confessor, one father Nitard, a German Jesuit, prime minister, a man as fit for lording it over his penitent, as he was unfit for governing a state, having nothing of the minister or the churchman but haughtiness and ambition. He had the insolence one day to say to the duke of Lerma, even before he came into the administration, "It is you who ought to shew me respect,
since

since I have every day your God in my hands, and your queen at my feet." With all this insolence, so contrary to true greatness of mind, he suffered the treasury to remain without money, all the fortifications in the kingdom to go to ruin, the harbours to be without shipping, and the army without discipline, destitute of generals, badly payed, and still worse commanded, in presence of an enemy who possessed all the requisites which Spain wanted.

The art of attacking places was not at the degree of perfection it now is, because that of fortifying and defending them was not so well known. The frontiers of Spanish Flanders were almost destitute of fortifications, and even garrisons.

Lewis then had nothing more to do than to present himself before them. He entered Charleroi as he would Paris: Ath, and Tournai, were taken in two days: Furnes, Armentieres, and Courtrai, made as little resistance. The king entered the trenches before Douai one day, and the next morning it capitulated. Lisle, which was the finest town in that country, and the only one well fortified, and had a garrison of six hundred men, capitulated after nine days siege. The Spaniards had only eight thousand men to oppose a victorious army, and even the rear guard of this small body was cut in pieces by the marquis, afterwards marshal de Crequi: the remainder hid itself under the walls of Brussels and Mons, leaving Lewis to carry on his conquests, without striking a blow.

July 6
1667

Aug. 27

Aug. 31

This

This campaign, which was made in the midst of abundance, and had been attended with such easy successes, seemed a party of pleasure made by a court. High living, luxury, and pleasures, were then first introduced into our armies, at the same time that the strictest discipline likewise was established. The officers performed military duty much more exactly than before; but with every kind of convenience. Marshal Turenne had for a long time been served only upon iron plates, when in camp. The marquis d'Humieres was the first at the siege of Arras, in 1658, who was served in plate in the trenches, and had different courses at his table. But in this campaign of 1667, where a young monarch, who was fond of magnificence, held the most brilliant court amidst the fatigues of the field, every one prided himself in shewing a taste for splendor, elegant living, dress, and equipage. This luxury, the certain mark of riches in a great state, and frequently the cause of ruin to a small one, was nothing in comparison of what has been seen since. The king, his generals, and ministers, then went to the rendezvous of the army on horseback; whereas now, there is not a captain of horse, nor the secretary of a general officer, but has his post-chaise hung on springs, in which he travels with greater ease and convenience, than in those days a person could make a visit from one part of Paris to another.

This delicacy in the officers did not hinder them from going into the trenches with their steel caps and cuirasses: the king himself set the

the example. This prudent precaution preserved many a great man. It has been too much neglected since by our young people, who are naturally tender and effeminate, though courageous, and who seem to dread fatigue more than danger.

The rapidity of the king's conquests filled Brussels with alarms. The inhabitants already began to remove their effects to Antwerp. All Flanders might have been conquered in a single campaign. The king only wanted a sufficient number of troops to put into those places which were ready to open their gates at his approach. Louvois advised him to put large garrisons into the conquered towns, and to fortify them; and Vauban, one of the many great men and surprising geniuses which appeared in this century, for the service of Lewis XIV. was appointed for this purpose. He constructed the fortifications on a new method of his own, which is now become the standard for all good engineers. It was matter of surprize to see towns surrounded by walls which were almost on a level with the neighbouring country. The old lofty and menacing ramparts were only more exposed by their height to the force of the artillery; but by making them sloping or shelving, they were the less liable to this inconvenience. He built the citadel of Lisle on these principles. At that time, 1686 the government of a town and its citadel were among the French always vested in the same person; but now an innovation was made in favour of Vauban, who was the first governor of a citadel: and here we may observe

serve, that the first of those plans in relieve, which are to be seen in the gallery of the Louvre, is that of the fortifications of Lisle.

The king now hastened back to Paris to enjoy the acclamations of his people, the adorations of his courtiers and mistresses, and partake of the splendid entertainments which he gave to his court.



END of the SIXTH VOLUME.

